0-315-03575-7

National Library of Canada | Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Division | Division des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

51470

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

JOSEPHINE EVANS

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

2 JULY 1940

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

BRITAIN

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

1402, 9909- 110 Street
Edmonton, Alta. T5K 2J9

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

Management and Worker Attitudes towards Workers' Participation in Decision-Making at the CanRail Repair Company.

University — Université

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

MASTER OF EDUCATION

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

SPRING 1981

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

DR. DARIUS YOUNG

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

December 16, 1980

Date

Signature

J Evans.

NL-91 (4/77)

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NL-339 (Rev. 8/80)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

MANAGEMENT AND WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING AT THE CANRAIL REPAIR COMPANY

by

© JOSEPHINE EVANS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1981

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Josephine Evans

TITLE OF THESIS Management and Worker Attitudes towards Workers' Participation in Decision-Making at the CanRail Repair Company.

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Master of Education

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1981

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Josephine Evans

PERMANENT ADDRESS:
#1402, 9909 110 Street
Edmonton, Alberta

DATED December 11, 1980

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Management and Worker Attitudes towards Workers' Participation in Decision-Making at the CanRail Repair Company.

submitted by Josephine Evans

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

Darius R. Young
Supervisor

Henry B. Zeb

Dallas Cullen

Date 16 December 1980

ABSTRACT

Previous research suggested that discrepancies exist between organizations' policies to encourage workers' participation in decision-making about their work and what actually occurs in practice. Using a qualitative method, 36 people, drawn from 4 ranks of the CanRail Repair Company in Edmonton, Alberta, were the subjects of this study to try and identify and understand what participation means to people in an organization committed to the principle, and to suggest explanations for their attitudes and any discrepancies found.

Major differences were found between the three management ranks and the workers. The former predominantly endorsed Miles's Human Relations model of participation (1979), blaming the supposed deterioration of the workforce for CanRail's problems. The workers' definition of participation corresponded to that of this study and was consistent with Miles's Human Resources model. Although almost everyone expressed concurrence with the investigator's definition of participation, there were many discrepancies in attitude. A great deal of frustration was associated with participation in all ranks, particularly because it was not apparently succeeding, or even being practised most of the time.

It was suggested that resistance to workers' participation is not primarily a psychological phenomenon, as has been often suggested before, but results mainly from CanRail's commitment to basing the organization of work exclusively on technological rather than human resource factors. A remotely controlled authority hierarchy which local management did not question severely limited workers' decision-making opportunities, too. Moreover, management was not familiar with the basic principles and practicalities of participation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sincere appreciation is expressed for the great patience of my supervisor, Dr. Darius Young, and for his ongoing guidance and encouragement.

I am also indebted to Dr. Dallas Cullen for her stimulating and life-saving insights, her supportive approach, and the considerable time she gave to guiding me.

I wish to thank Dr. Henry Ziel, too, for agreeing to sit on the committee, and for the time and effort this involves.

Thanks are also due to the management of the CanRail Repair Company for allowing me to do the study and making their facilities available to me. Personal gratitude is also felt to the CanRail people who helped with the study. The time and effort of the panel of experts was also most valuable.

Finally I wish to thank my friends for their ongoing support and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
1. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Orientation to the Problem	1
B. Statement of the Problem	3
C. Purpose of the Study	4
D. Research Questions	4
E. Significance of the Study	5
F. Nature and Scope of the Study	5
G. Limitations and Assumptions	7
H. Definition of Terms	8
I. Outline of the Thesis	10
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	12
A. Participation in Theory	12
1. Introduction	12
2. Participation	13
3. Pseudoparticipation	16
4. Human Relations or Human Resources	18
B. Attitudes towards Participation	20
C. Methodology	24
D. Summary	27
3. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY	28
A. Methodological Requirements	28
B. Description of the Instruments	29
C. Instrument Validation	33
D. Selection of Subjects	36
E. Collection of Data	38
F. Analysis of Data	40
4. RESULTS OF THE STUDY	41
A. Introduction	41
B. Research Question 1	43
1. Workers	43
2. Management	51
C. Research Question 2	60
1. Executives	60
2. Managers	62
3. Supervisors	64
4. Workers	67
D. Research Question 3	70
E. Summary	74
5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	77
A. Summary	77
B. Conclusions: Research Question 4	80
1. Rank and Attitude	80
2. Discrepancies	84
C. Recommendations	90

PAGE

REFERENCES 94

APPENDICES

Appendix I. CanRail Organization Chart 98
Appendix II. Assumptions, Practices and Rationale for Miles's Framework 99
Appendix III. Vroom & Yetton's Problem Attributes and Decision Flowchart 100
Appendix IV. Vroom & Yetton's Decision Methods 101
Appendix V. Portion of a Card used to control work at CanRail 102

Chapter 1. Introduction

A. Orientation to the Problem

Numerous investigations have shown that members of organizations with strict hierarchical controls tend to become inefficient and dissatisfied with their work, mainly because they do not have opportunities to control their own working existence, in particular to participate in decisions about their work (Argyris, 1962; Blauner, 1964; Bennis, 1966; MCgregor, 1974; and Vroom, 1976).

Furthermore, much work has been done to identify and test alternative management policies which are intended to result in improved job performance and increased workers' satisfaction. Sometimes these policies involve formal, often legally-sanctioned power-sharing under the rubric of "industrial democracy," yielding such arrangements as the work councils of Sweden, Denmark or Norway, the Mitbestimmung of Germany, and in North America derivatives of the Scanlon Plan (such as joint labour-management committees) which have been tried with increasing popularity over the last 20 years (Bass & Shackleton, 1979).

Alternatively, management policies have often been geared more directly to behavioural changes, ranging from attempts to change a whole organization's structure of relationships,[1] to minimal modifications in a traditional hierarchy. A wide variety of policies and practices in this group are referred to as "workers' participation,"

---

1. Such as the creation of autonomous work groups at Volvo in Sweden, I.C.I. and Chrysler in the United Kingdom, the Rushton coal mine in Pittsburgh, and the General Foods petfood plant built in Topeka, Kansas, in 1970 (Batt & Weinberg, 1978).

"participative management," and so forth. The popularity of the participation concept in Canada has lagged considerably behind the focus of much academic work, most of which has been done in the United States. Over the last thirty years or more, numbers of studies have been undertaken in relation to the participation hypothesis, which suggests that allowing workers to participate in decision-making about their work will lead them to be more efficient and satisfied. As the review of the literature shows, these studies are generally supportive of the hypothesis, although a great variety of conditions have been found to limit it. Moreover, definitional and methodological variations and problems have prevented its empirical validation. Although academic interest in testing the participation hypothesis per se has declined since at least ten years ago, academic ideas about participation have had time to filter through the management literature to training courses and everyday practice in business and industry. Sometimes this filtering process involves distortion or over-simplification of the original ideas. For example, although research has not succeeded in establishing the exact nature and conditions of any causal relationship between workers' participation and their efficiency and morale (however all of these terms may be variously defined), the belief that some such a relationship does exist has become "common knowledge" in industry (Miles, 1965). Research by Miles showed how the ideas from classic studies in the human relations field had become distorted over time by managers in business and industry all over North America (1965). Although academic ideas of 25 years ago may have stimulated changes in work organizations, it cannot be assumed that what modern managers mean by terms such as "participation" correspond to the ideas of their originators.

B. Statement of the Problem

Despite an endorsement of various kinds of participation policies, many organizations continue to manifest the very problems that these policies were intended to overcome. This has been the case in the organization studied, the CanRail Repair Company ("CanRail"). Several reasons have been suggested for the apparent failure of participation programs to achieve the desired results, and these are discussed below in the literature review. In particular there is evidence that, although paying lip-service to the desirability of participation, many management people experience ambivalence towards it--suggesting that what is practised may differ from what is preached (McClelland & Burnham, 1976; Miles, 1965).

Part of explaining the fate of any particular participation policy, therefore is identifying and understanding any discrepancies between theory and practice, especially relating to how far people endorse a concept of participation. Most of the existing information about people's attitudes towards participation consists of data obtained through quantitative methods designed to examine the causal relationship between broad variables, within increasingly complex multifactorial designs which of necessity used narrow operational definitions. These quantitative methods and the instruments they used do not permit the investigator to identify and understand discrepancies between what people <u>say</u> they think and feel, and what they really <u>do</u> think and feel--both of which can be expected to influence their behaviour. Consequently there is a need for information, gathered by an appropriate method, which will throw light on the reality of participation as perceived and practised (at least to some extent) by different people in any one organization.

Moreover, CanRail management expected participation to help cure their problems of low morale and productivity, and so it seems important to contribute to an understanding of such events, especially in order that false conclusions about the concept of participation should not be drawn.

C. Purpose of the Study

By studying the attitudes towards participation of people within one organization--CanRail--that is committed to the idea of participation yet still experiencing problems of inefficiency and low worker morale, it was hoped to create an understanding of what participation means to those people and of how they feel about and are likely to respond to participative policies. This was intended to help illuminate any discrepancies which appeared to occur between policy and practice at CanRail, which in turn could be suggestive of participation experiences elsewhere.

Because of the importance which has long been attributed to hierarchical status in influencing organization members' experiences and attitudes towards participation (Fleishman, 1953; Hill & Hunt, 1973; Holter, 1965; Katz, 1951; Lowin, 1968; Rousseau), the study focused on people at four organization levels.

It was also hoped to provide the CanRail Repair Company, and perhaps management elsewhere, with information and ideas which will help them to overcome problems associated with participation policies.

D. Research Questions

1. What attitudes do people of different rank in the CanRail Repair Company hold towards participation as defined by the investigator?

2. In comparison with the definitions discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, what does participation mean to people of different rank?

3. What discrepancies, if any, are there in people's attitudes towards participation and in what they endorse in principle and endorse in practice?

4. What explanations of existing attitudes and discrepancies can be suggested?

E. Significance of the Study

Recent researchers in this area have indicated a need for more information about attitudes towards participation. For example, Jago states that "further descriptive research exploring managers' underlying beliefs concerning the use of participation . . . is also warranted (1978, p. 493). Moreover, although non-managerial workers' attitudes are the focus of participation policies, this rank of organization has often been excluded from recent research in the area--an omission which the present study should help to remedy. The study was also intended to remedy a paucity of information about Canadian attitudes toward workers' participation.

In addition to aiding the appraisal of participation policies at the CanRail Repair Company itself, the findings may be used as a source of problem-solving suggestions for use in other organizations.

F. Nature and Scope of the Study

The premise determining the method used in this study was that, in order to understand people's actual or likely responses to complex situations (such as those which offer opportunities for workers to participate in decision-making), it is necessary to try and grasp the meaning of those situations to them. To accomplish this requires a methodology of first-hand, face-to-face communication between subjects and researcher.

Rather than seeking small amounts of data from many subjects (as done in sample surveys and quantitative methods using inferential statistics), the subtle nature of the research questions required that inferences be drawn from as many indicators of each subject's attitudes as possible (Cronbach, 1975; Giorgi, 1970), automatically reducing the scope of the study.

The investigation was undertaken at the CanRail Repair Company, a pseudonym employed at the company's request to remain anonymous. This company is a unit, operating in Edmonton, Alberta, of a national railroad organization. Its function is the maintenance and repair of railcars and diesel engines within the "mountain" region of Canada. Senior management in the unit report to a general superintendent in Edmonton (who also oversees several other such units), but the ultimate authority in the company lies in the head office in Montreal. The situation is analagous to that of a branch company in a large, privately-owned corporate conglomerate. Major decisions such as budgets, contract negotiations, and technical standards are made in Montreal, while decisions relating only to the plant itself are made locally.

CanRail itself is evenly divided into two major departments which are housed in separate buildings on the same site. One department is responsible for diesel engines and the other for railroad boxcars. In terms of the rank definitions outlined below, each of these two divisions has its own executives, managers, and supervisors, each supervisor working with a team of unionized employees. The organization chart is shown in Appendix I.

For the past seven years, management personnel at all levels have been receiving company training relevant to participation. In particular,

the "business values" and "interaction management" courses that the company provides are aimed at making management aware of workers' needs. The company makes the working assumption that participation increases morale and efficiency, although there is no "official" definition of participation; rather it is the case that management at all levels are quite definite about their view that the company favours something that they all refer to as "participation."

CanRail management have not reaped as many benefits as they had hoped for in terms of improved productivity and reduced symptoms of worker dissatisfaction. For example, the Car division, which at the time of the study employed 489, hired 228 people in 1979, while 211 resigned. In addition to this high turnover rate, management has been concerned with a high absenteeism rate, and with what they perceive to be a general lack of enthusiasm for work and other problems linked with low morale. The company agreed to the present study partly in the hope of having some light thrown on the problem.

G. Limitations and Assumptions

Since this was not a quantitative study, or a study of causal relationships, the information cannot be generalized into precise scientific predictions. It merely aims to grasp the meaning of participation to members of one organization and to interpret those findings in the light of several explanatory concepts. Although the findings may be used to raise possibilities and questions about people and participation elsewhere, it cannot be assumed that they provide answers to other companies' problems.

Because the Canadian and United States economic systems have similar structures, functions and general objectives, it was assumed that

analytical ideas which arose from the American experience would for all practical purposes be applicable to a study of Canadians' attitudes.

The use of two instruments was based on the assumption that requiring subjects to make choices in simulated situations would give a more realistic picture of their attitudes than could have been obtained by the use of some traditional method such as scoring their responses on attitude scales.

It is also assumed that there is no single "correct" definition of participation. As the review of the literature shows, definitions vary in several important respects; since the point of the study was to ascertain how CanRail people defined it, the function of the definition adopted by the investigator was merely to provide a clear point of comparison. Similar limitations apply to references to power, and to the participation hypothesis. It was not necessary to assume the validity or otherwise of any particular formulation, since the aim of the study was to understand what model of participation was endorsed by people of different rank.

H. Definition of Terms

1. Participation is defined as any mode of organizational decision-making in which workers fully share with management power over their own activities. This definition is derived from Lowin (1968), into which has been incorporated Pateman's distinction (1970) between "true" participation and such procedures as consultation--which involves no modification of orthodox power structures. It also corresponds to participation as described in Miles's Human Resources model (1965).

2. Decision-making is defined as the combined activities of (a) identifying a problem, (b) considering alternative solutions, and

(c) deciding to act on one of them (Tannenbaum & Schmidt, 1958).

3. Power is defined as the positional ability to limit or eliminate human choices (Bierstedt, 1950). Major categories have been suggested in the literature to denote varying degrees of power-sharing in management, such as Tannenbaum and Schmidt's seven classifications (1958) and Vroom and Yetton's decision methods (1974) which were used in this study. The study is concerned with that degree of power-sharing in which the entire process of decision-making about employees' work is shared between management and workers.

4. Rank is defined as the position occupied by an individual in the organization's formal power hierarchy. A minimum of three ranks would have been needed for this study; the workers who stand to gain power, their supervisors whose roles would be radically redefined, and management personnel above them in the hierarchy. In view of findings that first-level supervisors' responses were strongly affected by the attitudes of their own immediate superiors, a distinction was also made between middle-level managers to whom supervisors report and higher management (Barber, 1973; Cartwright, 1959; Fleishman, 1973; Pelz, 1952; and Tosi & Carrol, 1976). The four ranks used in the study are defined as follows:-

(a) A worker is a person engaged directly in the production of goods or services who supervises no-one.

(b) A supervisor is a person who holds a position in the first line of management and supervises workers while not being primarily engaged in the production of goods or services.

(c) A manager is a person to whom supervisors report and who holds a position at or equivalent to department-head level.

(d) An executive is a person to whom people at manager level and above report, and who carries responsibility for the operation of a whole organizational unit.

These categories have been adapted from Brinkerhoff (1972) and Blake and Mouton (1968). All the subjects were classified into one of these four discrete categories on the basis of the organizational chart and their own job descriptions.

5. Attitude is defined as a predisposition to respond in a particular manner with respect to a given stimulus, and includes four components: (a) cognitions, or beliefs about what is fact; (b) affect, or positive and negative emotions or feelings; (d) evaluations, or judgments about what ought or ought not to be; and (d) frame of reference, or a person's perceptual field in relation to him- or herself.

As Giorgi points out, the relations between the elements of mental life are not causal (1970, p. 25); people's experience of the world entails an ongoing synthesis of these elements into a meaningful whole. In order to understand how people respond to participation policies, we need to understand first what the complex whole of this concept means to them. It would be impossible to precisely measure attitudes defined in this way. In this study, people's attitudes towards participation were inferred from their responses to direct questions during the interviews and to the simulated problem situation instrument.

I. Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 2 consists of a review of literature which is related to how people might define participation, and to the relevance of attitudes to participation in practice. Chapter 3 describes the study's design and procedures. The results of the study, in the form of answers to three

of the research questions, are presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 contains a summary, conclusions (relating to the fourth research question in particular), and recommendations.

Chapter 2. Review of the Literature

A. Participation in Theory

1. Introduction. In work organizations, the exercise of power was traditionally seen as the "lifeblood of administration" (Hodgkinson, 1971). Problems of coordinating the myriad individual specialized tasks within large organizations were often deemed best solved through the strict, centralized controls embodied in a hierarchical arrangement of relationships, "each lower office under the control and supervision of a higher one" (Weber, 1968). Such an arrangement involves both the use of power in order to suppress behaviour that is deemed by the powerful to interfere with the attainment of organizational goals (Bennis, Berkowitz, Affinito & Malone, 1958), and the imposition of controls by those in the upper levels who attempt to eliminate uncertainty in organization performance because it is they who are held accountable for it.

This perception of management's function has often led in practice to the continual monitoring, checking and judging of subordinates by superiors in the hierarchy. The corollary of such a management style, as Argyris shows, is the requirement that non-managerial employees be "subordinate, passive, and dependent on the boss for rewards, penalties, and directions" (1962, p. 34), which is held to be incompatible with the satisfaction of human needs for self-determination, reduces employees' satisfaction in work, and results in "organizational decision-making (being) . . . primarily adaptive rather than rational" (1962, p. 49). The effects of this relative powerlessness upon employees have long been documented and analyzed; they include "antagonistic adaptive activities" (Argyris, 1962, p. 34) such as decreased responsibility, loss of commitment to work, short-time perspective, inefficiency, go-slows, wastefulness,

work errors, absenteeism, stealing, high turnover and grievance rates, and inflexibility (Coch & French, 1948; McGregor, 1974; and Pateman, 1970).

While the lack of decision-making power over their own lives among individuals in hierarchical organizations has been seen to cause all these problems, policies which involve the opposite treatment of employees (such as providing opportunities for autonomy or participation in decision-making) have often been deemed the logical counter-measures. Such policies are based on a very general notion that is often referred to as the participation hypothesis, which may be summarized thus: Providing workers with opportunities for participation in decision-making about their work will lead them to perform their jobs better and to feel more satisfaction (Blumberg, 1968).

In view of this, it would seem logical to expect that participation policies would only remedy the effects of powerlessness to the extent that they devolve power; but many theorists and organizations define participation in ways which involve no power-sharing at all.

2. Participation. In this study, participation has been defined as any mode of organizational decision-making in which workers fully share with management power over their own activities.

Holter's research suggests this is a meaningful definition in terms of what workers themselves actually desire when they ask for more "participation." His survey of 1,128 employees in 18 establishments showed that the large majority of workers wanted "to participate more in decisions affecting their own work" (1965, p. 3010. This definition also matches Miles's Human Resources model (1965), whereby organizational efficiency is maximized by utilizing all workers' abilities.

Most of the studies whose findings are generally supportive of the participation hypothesis employ definitions which are similar to this one in respect of the essential element: reducing power or control over workers' activities.

The earliest studies to be undertaken in a systematic way were those of the University of Michigan in the 1940's and 1950's. The concept of "general" supervision employed there involved a set of behaviours by which supervisors allowed subordinates to participate in making and implementing decisions about their work; they could use their own initiative and had freedom from the continuous, close scrutiny and control characteristic of "close" supervision. Kahn and Katz (1953) report on several studies they undertook in order to observe the effects on productivity and morale of these two supervision styles; in one of these, "close" style supervisors in an insurance company had sections which were significantly less productive than supervisors who used "general" supervision, as they described the opposite style.

Another early and important study was Bavelas' 1948 comparison of productivity rates among sewing machine operators at the Harwood Company. He found that operators who were permitted to set their own production goals were decisively more efficient than those who were not. Lawrence and Smith replicated this study in 1955 and confirmed the findings. Similarly, Babchuck and Goode's study of Detroit clothing salesmen (1951) showed that self-determination (involving freedom to plan work, to re-arrange the division of labour, and to effect self-discipline on a group basis) resulted in significant increases in both productivity and morale. Katz, Maccoby and Morse found statistically significant differences in both productivity and morale of clerical workers super-

vised with or without the assumption that they were "people capable of taking some responsibility"; supervisors who believed this spent much of their time setting up optimum conditions for workers and left details of how and when to do the work to workers themselves (1950, p. 350).

Many researchers have demonstrated that decision-making power and freedom from hierarchical controls over their production tended to increase both efficiency and satisfaction, however these concepts have been defined in the different studies, although the exact causal links have not been shown. For example, Coch and French showed this in their 1948 study of reactions to change in production methods at a pajama factory; French, Ross, Kirby, Nelson and Smythe found the same pattern ten years later (1958); and a more recent study of non-managerial workers by Stone showed a positive relationship between "the affective response an individual has to characteristics of his job" and job enrichment which provides "relatively high degrees of variety and autonomy" (1976, p. 166). Blauner's survey of the job satisfaction literature (1960) revealed that the greatest single factor associated with high job satisfaction was decision-making power and absence from controls over the use of one's time and movement, or the organization of one's environment.

A comparison of the exact activities by which the concept of participation was operationalized in these studies shows that they entail varying degrees of power-sharing. Several theorists have proposed continua along which decision-making activities may be ranged in accordance with degrees of relative influence by supervisors and workers, such as Yukl's Decision-Centralization continuum (1971), Tannenbaum and Schmidt's measures of Participative Decision-Making (1958), Park's

Satisficing-Plus Scale (1978), and Vroom and Yetton's Normative Model of ten Decision Methods (1973). None of these models lend themselves to empirical testing because of the complexity and uncontrollability of the various factors between which functional relationships are proposed, but they have practical value for management working on the assumption that the participation hypothesis is essentially true.

3. Pseudoparticipation. There is a considerable number of studies in which participation is defined in psychological terms, with stress upon making workers feel involved with their work. Such definitions of participation exclude power-sharing, or include only decision-making about matters which are irrelevant to the real issues of power distribution at work. As Lowin says, "the whole point about industrial participation is that it involves a modification of the orthodox authority structure" (1968, p. 69). To use a definition of participation which by-passes the idea that power over workers through decision-making about their work should no longer be the exclusive domain of management is to miss the essence of the problem of workers' alienation, and for this reason such definitions have sometimes been referred to as pseudo-participation.

Much of the empirical research which uses such a definition appears to be aimed at establishing which conditions are most likely to increase workers' satisfaction and efficiency without relinquishing what is implicitly regarded as management's prerogative, namely, power. Thus participation is studied as a management technique to persuade workers to accept goals and activities which have been predetermined by management. The actual behaviour described by the words "workers' participation" range in these studies from a totally passive role for workers--

they are given the right to receive information (Nias, 1973, p. 79)--through more active roles, such as having the right to protest decisions, make suggestions and become involved in prior consultation, although their decisions are not subsequently binding upon management (Blumberg, 1968, p. 70).

Management literature is replete with such definitions. For example, March and Simon define participation in terms of "accepting authority" (1958, p. 90), which is to give the word quite a different meaning to the customary one. Tannenbaum and Massarik define participation in the following way: "Subordinates can provide and discuss with their manager information with respect both to relevant alternatives and to the consequences attendant on specific alternatives. In so doing, they are participating in the managerial decision-making process" (1963, p. 461). This perception of hierarchical power relations as somehow "natural" to work organizations, with its tautological discussion of "management" decision-making, has often been implicitly adopted in practice.

Thus, although practice and research in this category falls under the rubric of "participation," it differs fundamentally from the definition adopted in the present study. It is hardly necessary to point out that there is a great difference between being permitted to try and influence someone else's decisions about one's work and being able to determine the outcome oneself. Nevertheless, some studies suggest that even pseudoparticipation may sometimes increase morale, and even productivity, at least in the short run. For example, Wickert found that "participation" (which entailed "feelings of ego involvement in the day-to-day operations of the company") was inversely

related to turnover among telephone operators (1951, p. 185). As with other pseudoparticipation policies, the stress in this company was upon making workers feel as though they were involved. Perhaps workers react favorably to such treatment in the short run because of its contrast with autocratic treatment, but since they are not given a share in the real control over their activities there are no long-term benefits to be reaped. Pelz's study confirms the view that pseudoparticipation has no long-term benefits; participation was not considered meaningful by workers unless the supervisor could deliver on the expectations created by feelings of autonomy (1952); similarly, Cartwright found that workers resent supervisory practices which delegate non-existent power (1959).

Pseudoparticipation studies are, nevertheless, relevant to an understanding of what participation means to people in business and industry, many of whom have been exposed to a variety of ideas masquerading as a single concept. As Strauss points out (1963), formal policies are often pursued in terms which cloud the basic realities of the influence process. Miles's studies of managers' attitudes towards participation show that "there seems to be a great deal of confusion about what has been sold and what has been bought. Managers do not appear to have accepted a single, logically consistent concept of participation" (1979, p. 291).

4. Human Relations or Human Resources. Miles has suggested that in reality managers operate with both the above types of participation definitions, in effect endorsing true participation for themselves as subordinates while operating with pseudoparticipation for people below them in the hierarchy. Although he does not use this terminology,

these two approaches correspond to the two distinct models of the participation hypothesis that he suggests are in operation, even though the managers themselves may not be aware of it. Since these two models were found useful in interpreting the results of this study, they will be outlined briefly here.

The Human Relations model of participation, which corresponds to the notion of pseudoparticipation employed here, implicitly postulates the following chain of causal relationships: Participation (i.e. making workers feel a "useful and important part of the overall effort") leads to improved satisfaction and morale, which in turn lowers resistance to formal authority, consequently improving the attainment of pre-set goals. In this model, improved morale is regarded as a necessary and sufficient condition of improved job performance; no reduction in control over workers' activities is entailed, for "participation . . . is viewed as a lubricant which oils away resistance to formal authority" (1979, p. 294). The objectives of managers continue to be the same control over workers that exists in the old autocratic model, but they do not acknowledge this, perhaps because social pressures require that they "reject traditional, autocratic concepts of leadership and control" (1979, p. 291).

In contrast, the Human Resources model postulates the following causal chain: Participation (i.e. drawing on workers' capacity for self-directed, self-controlled behaviour, using their creative problem-solving abilities to the full) enables the total human resources of the organization to be utilized and therefore results in improved quality of decision-making and control over objectives. A by-product of this process is likely to be improved workers' satisfaction and morale; it

certainly can be expected to foster an atmosphere which is supportive of creative problem-solving. A radical modification of orthodox power structures would clearly be involved in the application of this model. Appendix II provides a summary of the assumptions, practices and rationale for each model.

Miles suggests that, whatever the official policy of an organization may be, managers are inclined to adopt the Human Relations model of participation because (a) "they frequently doubt their subordinates' capacity for self-direction and self-control, and their ability to contribute creatively to departmental decision-making" (1979, p. 297); (b) they have misinterpreted the work of academic theorists because the latter have themselves treated participation in an inconsistent manner; and (c) organization policy often regards participation as an "ought," rather than a "must," so that the manager succeeds in merely paying lipservice to it (1979, p. 301).

If discrepancies do occur between official policy and actual practice, these suggestions would help to explain why. The next section reviews the literature pertaining to attitudes towards participation in practice, in particular relating to discrepancies between what organizations intend and what actually seems to occur.

B. Attitudes towards Participation

Several investigators have found that lower- and middle-management, accustomed to a controlling role, and sometimes lacking in knowledge of how to supervise in an alternative style, are psychologically resistant to the power-sharing involved in participation (Fleishman, 1953; Shultz, 1964; Barber, 1973; McClelland & Burnham, 1976; Mills, 1978).

It appears that when power is exercised by some individuals over others, the relatively powerful are likely to experience an emotional attachment to power itself. Martin and Sims (1974) showed how this tendency was manifested in behaviour by executives who used their rank to strengthen and enhance their own position rather than to further organization goals. McClelland and Burnham (1976) found that all 50 of the managers they studied claimed to be motivated by a need to "influence others for the good of the whole organization," yet an indirect measure of their attitudes showed that 22 per cent of those managers who were rated "poor" by subordinates used power coercively or in an authoritarian manner, apparently motivated by a need for personal aggrandisement. Batt and Weinberg, reviewing the progress of industrial democracy in the United States, perceived that "one of the first lessons is that joint efforts require modification of deep-seated attitudes . . . only a relatively few managers . . . have been willing to recast themselves as cooperative problem-solvers" (1979, p. 100). Shultz's analysis of factors operating in the application of the Scanlon Plan concluded that participation is only successful "if management at all levels is willing to face criticism"; he found that the major obstacle to success was "resistance by supervisors" due to their initial loss of prestige and authority (1964, p. 52).

But workers themselves have also been shown to have sometimes less than enthusiastic attitudes towards participation in practice. Years of relative powerlessness in hierarchical organizations do not apparently produce employees who are either attitudinally or behaviourally equipped for participation unless they have suitable training, or unless their job security can be assured them (Bennis, et al, 1958;

Tannenbaum & Massarik, 1963; Mulder & Wilke, 1970; McGregor, 1974; and Foy & Gadon, 1976). Pateman (1970) observed that years of working in an environment which enforces dependence usually trains workers to behave appropriately, so that workers need both time and education to adjust their behaviour to any radically different arrangement.

The relationship between hierarchical position and attitudes to participation has been of interest to many investigators. Pateman showed that there was an inter-relationship between the "authority structures of institutions and the psychological qualities and attitudes of individuals" (1970, p. 27), and McDonnell (1976) found that the type of decision being made (particularly whether or not it primarily affected employees personally) was related differentially to the attitudes towards participation of individuals at different organization levels. Jago found that "systematic task differences implicit in hierarchical differentiation" were closely related to "participative leader behavior" (1977, p. 2921B). Heller and Yukl's study of senior managers in industry focused on the influence of several variables, one of which was "authority level in the organization," upon two measures of participation (one being responses to a questionnaire about their own decision-making behaviour, and the other a set of decision items in which subjects were asked which decisions were appropriate for management). They found significant differences in both attitude and reported behaviour between three levels of management (1976, p. 246). Lowin concluded after an extensive critique of related evidence that the attitudes and behaviours of organization members that are relevant to participation are linked to their positions in the hierarchy (1968, p. 69).

The distribution of power within the organization as a whole has repeatedly been seen as relevant to the success of participation policies. For example, Thorsrud and Emery (1963) concluded that the success of participation could not be achieved simply by establishing policies formally; attitudes at all organization levels were crucial. This difficulty has also been observed in British industry by Barber, where line managers "often find their own personal roles to be curiously ambivalent and insecure"; even though they themselves often attempt to "fundamentally reappraise their own attitudes to power," organization policy is still issued from the top, together with paradoxical directives to extend participation in order to fully comply with the 1971 Industrial Relations Act; this causes line managers to be "reactive and defensive" (1973, p. 300). Tosi and Carroll point to similar difficulties in North America; "unless they have the approval of their superiors, lower-level managers cannot legitimately influence goal levels and action plans" (1976, p. 325).

Several investigators have suggested that the effectiveness of workers' participation depends directly on the attitudes of the supervisor's own superior. Kahn and Katz found that the effectiveness of participation "is by no means determined at the first level of supervision," but always tends to reflect the desires of their superiors (1953, p. 560). Scott (1952) pointed out that members' perceptions of these power structures were at least as important as the formal organization charts. Fleishman designed a survey at International Harvester to study the relationship between foremen's behaviour and attitudes towards participation on the one hand, and the expectations of the foremen's own supervisors on the other. He discovered a "chain reaction

effect"; because foremen continued to use "the shortest path to approval by the boss," even after training for participative management. Since the higher up people were in the plant hierarchy the less freedom from structure they felt workers should get, the leadership climate at the very top was the main determinant of whether or not attempts at participation succeeded (1953, pp. 215, 218).

Vertical resistance of this sort may be compounded by horizontal resistance to participation policies. For example, Blumberg reports an experiment undertaken in an American toy factory in which the high productivity and earnings of a group of workers given complete control over their work conditions (e.g. speed of conveyor belt, equal authority to "superiors" in planning work) occasioned such resentment among more skilled workers and the engineers that the experiment was abandoned. As Blumberg states, this suggests that conditions in the organization as a whole must not mitigate against the participation; "workers' control cannot survive in isolation" and is not likely to be effective if it is merely "an oasis in an authoritarian desert" (1968, p. 99).

It may therefore be suggested that, since the modifications of an organization's power structure that participation policies necessarily entail do affect people at all hierarchical levels somewhat differently, it is essential to understand the attitudes of people of different rank in explaining the fate of any particular such policy.

C. Methodology

Most past research related to participation appears to have had as its goal, at least implicitly, some contribution to a general theory of participation, seeking general laws about conditions under which increased participation leads to increased efficiency and satisfaction

among workers. Several variables have been identified as significant, and much work has been done in trying to establish causal links between them, and to specify conditions under which those relations hold true.

But there are some serious problems which such an approach entails, especially where attitudes have been studied. Since generalizations have had to be based on clearly refutable empirical referents, and since the complexities of human mentality are so great, when researchers have reduced them to manageable operational categories the concepts embedded in them have become so narrow that they are almost useless when applied to events in the real world.

As Giorgi points out, in real life the basic unit of study is the total reaction of a whole self to situations; mental life is a "functional unity which cannot be reduced or built up theoretically out of non-functional units" (1970, p. 25). In most research concerned with attitudes towards participation, attitudes have been operationally defined in some manner such as "the sum of responses to statements scored on the Likert scale." The more that a subject expresses agreement with items such as "Good supervisors should consult workers," the more she or he is deemed to have a favourable attitude towards participation. But in reality subjects' responses to every item on such an instrument are likely to be conditional on many unknown, important and highly variable factors, such as the variety of imagined situations, personalities in the scenarios envisaged, the mood of respondents, and so on. Therefore on the basis of such procedures as these, there is no useful sense in which "scientific" conclusions about subjects' responses to different participation opportunities in the real world can be made.

It can also be claimed that pursuit of scientism has prevented many previous researchers in this field from producing accurate knowledge about real events which can be used for short-run monitoring and control of actual work situations. To successfully explain, predict or influence people's reactions to participation policies, we need an understanding of individuals' unique perceptions and interpretations of the events to which such policies give rise. As Cronbach points out, reasonable goals for academics are "to assess local events accurately" and to "develop explanatory concepts" to help practitioners monitor responses to policies and choose their actions wisely (1975, p. 126).

Cronbach also demonstrates the impossibility of trying to establish empirical generalizations about complex phenomena (such as participation) "in a world in which most effects are interactive" (1975, p. 121). As with all other attempts to establish general theories of human behaviour, trying to pin down the exact conditions under which the participation hypothesis holds true would require impossibly huge factorial designs, for it is impossible to specify all the situational variables, to account for the endless personal differences, or to measure (or even to detect) the interaction between personal and situational variables.

In view of this, it is not surprising that attempts to build a general theory capable of predicting failure or success with participation, or of prescribing fixed treatments to guarantee success in any situation, have not amounted to much. If we wish to go beyond very vague generalizations (such as that the success of workers' participation depends upon people's attitudes), we have no choice but to study one particular situation thoroughly, one particular manifestation of

participation, describing and trying to understand events in that context only. Such an understanding could possibly then in its turn be suggestive of what might occur in other settings. An exercise such as this requires a qualitative methodology, such as the one used in the present study, rather than the quantitative approach which has been employed so often in past studies of participation.

D. Summary

Existing studies suggest that participation defined in such a way as to provide workers with opportunities to control their own working existence through sharing in organizational decision-making can reasonably be expected to reduce the symptoms of powerlessness it is intended to overcome only in the absence of resistance by organization members, and only if matched with the appropriate modifications in the organization authority structure.

It also seems that organization members' responses to particular participation policies tend to be influenced by the position that they occupy in the hierarchy, and that management personnel in particular are likely to create discrepancies between policy and practice, perhaps paying lipservice to participation while really defining it in pseudoparticipation, or Human Relations, terms.

Explaining and monitoring attitudes and discrepancies such as these in any particular organization requires an understanding of how different people perceive participation; and this demands a qualitative methodology rather than the quantitative treatment of data in relation to broad hypothesis, as has been the case with much research in this field to date (Giorgi, 1970).

Chapter 3. Description of the Study

A. Methodological Requirements

Since the purpose of the study was to understand people's attitudes and any discrepancies, it was essential to use a research method which permitted in-depth, face-to-face communication with the investigator. Moreover, because attitudes can only be inferred from people's expressions of them in words and actions, and because there is no simple, direct link between attitudes and behaviour, it was important to select as sensitive an instrument as possible for gathering the information required. Because of the subtleties of attitudes and ambivalence, a standard questionnaire would have been too restrictive and formal; it was important not to impose an external structure on people's responses so that the meanings which they themselves gave to the concept of participation could be grasped (Giorgi, 1970).

Furthermore, the tendency of people to answer questions in what they perceive to be a socially desirable manner was of special relevance in planning this study, in view of past researchers' findings that managers in particular may pay lipservice to the value of participation while resisting it in practice. Standardized and formal questions would not have enabled the investigator to probe for possible discrepancies, for example, between what people felt they ought to say and what they truly thought.

For these reasons, it was necessary to choose a method of gathering information that would maximize the likelihood of candid expression, at the same time as permitting the investigator to elicit views which their might be a reluctance to express.

B. Description of the Instruments

Two methods of gathering information were used; one was an unstructured interview, and the other a simulated problem situation instrument. The simulations were administered first, in order to reduce the tendency for choices to be biased towards consistency with already expressed attitudes.

1. Unstructured interviews. The first step in the interview was an explanation of what the interviewer meant by the term participation, followed by a direct question about people's opinions and feelings about it. Subsidiary comments and questions on this theme were to be provided to help people explain their views, the precise content of each one depending on the nature of answers already given by each person. Probes were to be used to elicit information that was not volunteered, or to clarify points, especially when contradictions or inconsistencies were noted. People's comments were to be reflected back to them in the interviewer's words whenever it was felt necessary to check either their validity or the interviewer's comprehension (Orenstein & Phillips, 1978).

The second step of the interview was to ask what people perceived participation to be at CanRail, and to ascertain their feelings about that. Again, subsidiary questions and reflecting back were to be used to help people explain their attitudes towards existing policy and practices.

2. Simulations. This instrument consisted of descriptions of six problem situations, for each of which people were asked to choose which of four possible decision methods a supervisor should use in that situation, and to explain their choices as fully as possible. The wording of the descriptions was as follows:

Situation 1. The supervisor of ten technical employees has been informed by top management that the company has agreed to lend two technicians to an overseas affiliate for a period of six to eight months. The formal training and work experience of the ten employees in this unit are very similar, and they could work interchangeably on any project. This problem is complicated by the fact that the assignment is in what is generally considered an undesirable location. The problem is to decide which two technicians will go.

Situation 2. The supervisor of a large team of workers laying buried cable in the far North has to estimate the expected rate of progress in order to plan the delivery of materials to the next site. He knows the terrain and it is a simple matter to calculate the earliest and latest times at which materials and support facilities will be needed at the next site. It is important that this estimate be reasonably accurate. Progress has been good so far, and the workers stand to receive a bonus if the project is completed ahead of schedule.

Situation 3. The supervisor of 13 employees has received a directive from top management that there must be an end to the present practice of people taking coffee breaks at times to suit themselves. In future, everyone is to take the 15-minute break at the same time. The problem is deciding when the break will be.

Situation 4. The supervisor of an employee who has repeatedly been turning up at work visibly drunk has already tried talking with him, has issued several verbal and written warnings, and has now been asked by some other employees to fire him. The problem is deciding what to do.

Situation 5. The sales manager has to go along with the company's decision to have every department's files put together in a new centralized filing department. This manager has no knowledge about either the present or the proposed filing system; the sales manager's secretary presently controls the sales department files. She is willing and extremely competent, also pleased with the planned change and full of ideas. Some of the files can have duplicates kept in the sales department after the change, which represents a chance to reorganize and improve the whole sales files system. The problem is how to reorganize for the change.

Situation 6. The supervisor of the general office in a large company is about to be transferred to another location and has to decide which of her subordinates should be promoted to her job.

These situations were based on Finch, Jones and Litterer (1976, pp. 154-6), and were constructed on the basis of Vroom and Yetton's normative model (1973) which requires managers to recognize eight situational or problem attributes which determine the choice of the most rational decision method, selected from several possibilities by means of following their decision-process flow chart. Appendix III summarizes these problem attributes and the decision flow chart, while Appendix IV details the ten possible decision methods.

Since the present study did not require as many distinctions of decision method as Vroom and Yetton employed, their ten choices were compressed, by eliminating separate methods for dealing with group and individual decisions. The four decision methods from which the subjects in this study could choose were as follows:

Method A. The supervisor solves the problem or makes the decision alone, using information available to him/her at the time. (This corresponds to Vroom and Yetton's AI style.)

Method B. The supervisor obtains the necessary information from subordinates, then decides the solution him/herself. S/he may or may not tell subordinates what the problem is in getting information from them, but the problem is not discussed with them. (This corresponds with Vroom and Yetton's AII style.)

Method C. The supervisor shares the problem with subordinates, singly or in a group, getting their ideas and suggestions. Then s/he makes the decision alone, which may or may not reflect the subordinates' influence. (This corresponds with Vroom and Yetton's CI and CII styles.)

Method D. The supervisor either delegates the decision-making entirely, or shares the problem with one or more subordinates, and together they consider alternative solutions and attempt to reach agreement. The supervisor acts rather like a chairperson and does not try to influence the subordinate(s) to adopt his/her own preferred solution. The supervisor is willing to accept any solution which has the support of the subordinates. (This corresponds with Vroom and Yetton's GII and DI styles.)

The only one of these decision methods which corresponds to participation as defined in this study is Method D. Situations 1, 3 and 5 had problem attributes embedded in them so that they would be most effectively dealt with by Method D, according to Vroom and Yetton's criteria; the other situations were not designed to require participation and were included to prevent bias and to allow comparison of

responses. The application of Vroom and Yetton's decision-process flow chart to the six situations used may be summarized as follows:

Situation 1.
A (Quality): No. Go to E.
E (Acceptance critical): Yes. Go to F.
F (Acceptance likely): No. Use GII.

Situation 2.
A (Quality): Yes. Go to B.
B (Leader information): Yes. Go to E.
E (Acceptance critical): No. Use AI.

Situation 3.
A (Quality): No. Go to E.
E (Acceptance critical): Yes. Go to F.
F (Acceptance likely): No. Use GII.

Situation 4.
A (Quality): Yes. Go to B.
B (Leader information): Yes. Go to E.
E (Acceptance critical): No. Use AI.

Situation 5.
A (Quality): Yes. Go to B.
B (Leader information): No. Go to C.
C (Subordinate information): Yes. Go to D.
D (Structure): Yes. Go to E.
E (Acceptance critical): Yes. Go to F.
F (Acceptance likely): No. Go to G.
G (Goal congruence): Yes. Use DI.

Situation 6.
A (Quality): Yes. Go to B.
B (Leader information): Yes. Go to E.
E (Acceptance critical): Yes. Go to F.
F (Acceptance likely): Yes. Use AI.

C. Instrument Validation

The simulation instrument incorporates the logic of Vroom and Yetton's model, of which the internal consistency has been empirically validated by Vroom and Jago (1978) when they showed that decisions made in accordance with the model's rationality were indeed more effective than those that were not. Several studies have supported both the internal and the external validity of the model itself; these are reported in Jago (1978).

Although the Vroom-Yetton model was designed for prescriptive use, to specify how leaders should behave if they are to make rational

choices about participative decision-making, it lends itself to investigations like Jago's (1978) and the present one, for it covers descriptive questions of how leaders actually do behave in different situations. In Jago's 1978 study, "responses were examined to determine respondents' use of situational cues and the degree to which this use conforms to the normative principles." The same procedure was used in this study. Since it has been suggested that there may be some resistance among management personnel to participation, this instrument enabled the investigator to compare the decision choices of people at CanRail with those which conformed to the model. To the extent that they differed, there was a clue that "affective reactions to situations may interfere with cognitive processing in real managerial decisions" (Jago, 1978, p. 480), thereby alerting the investigator to the need for further probes.[1]

With respect to the validity of information obtained during the unstructured interviews, probes and reflective summaries helped to ensure this. In cases where people's expressed opinions were not consistent with their responses to the simulation, this did not invalidate information collected by either method, since the discrepancies themselves were a major focus of the study.

---

1. For example, the only "rational" decision method for Situation 5 is Method D, among other reasons because it would be quite impractical for the manager to acquire all the secretary's knowledge needed to analyse the situation (as s/he would have to for Methods A, B or C). A subject insisting vehemently that a secretary "shouldn't tell the boss what to do" (as one did) can be expected to be making unwarranted cognitive assumptions based on rank (and maybe sex, too) and/or to be reacting to emotions or values. Such responses as this one contain many leads into which an investigator may probe in order to understand the subject's attitudes better.

Maximum effort was made to avoid experimenter bias by giving no clues to the investigator's own attitudes; no matter what views were expressed, they were treated with equal acceptance. In addition, the investigator's neutrality regarding people's opinions was clearly stated, even though in practice it was something of a struggle to maintain. This bias was also likely to have been overcome in part by the complexity of the simulations and the explanation of the study given to the subjects; they were given honest but incomplete information which was intended to induce them to focus their attention on evaluating the situations rather than on evaluating their own attitudes--in the manner suggested by Dawes (1972).

McClelland and Burnham (1976) reported that experimenter bias was apparent when they used direct questionnaires about attitudes to power-sharing, but they also found that a more indirect measure (analyzing hypothetical situations in a similar way to the present study's method) yielded different results, presumably more candid ones. The use of two measures in the present study should have helped to uncover this bias and make it amenable to study. Hoffman points out (1974) that managers' responses to situations constructed on the basis of Vroom and Yetton's model are likely to reflect their true attitudes to participation because individuals who are unable to perceive situational cues embedded in the instrument are also likely to miss them in real life.

Both of the instruments used in this study were submitted to a panel of experts, in the manner of a mini-pilot study. The recommendations of the first two experts were shared with the others, who concurred with changes before they were incorporated into the final instrument (and hence before they were validated). The modifications concerned

clarifications of Situations 3 and 5, the order of procedure, and the method of recording data: Once the experts had completed this instrument and had discussed the reasons for their choices in comparison with the normative model, they all expressed a belief that it would give a valid picture of people's predispositions to react in similar ways to participation in real life.

In order to benefit from as much relevant expertise as possible, the panel of eleven experts was composed of people from each rank used in the study: Two executives (a vice president of a manufacturing company and the owner of a small wholesale company); three managers (a university associate dean, a mortgage department manager, and the production manager of a public company); three supervisors (of an auto-repair shop, a government office, and a social research unit); and three workers (in research and production). In addition, the instruments were scrutinized by two university professors.

D. Selection of Subjects

Relevant facts about the CanRail Repair Company are given in Chapter 4. The advantages of having chosen this organization are as follows:

(a) Rather than studying a sample of people from a range of different organizations, all the subjects in this study work within the same structure, experience similar management policies, and are all concerned with the same production. This makes it easier to compare and contrast experiences and attitudes.

(b) CanRail has been promoting participation for about seven years. This meant that subjects were familiar with the concept and had experienced some form of participation.

(c) CanRail fits the classic hierarchical model in its formal structure, so that it was possible to observe the problems of trying to implement policies which, in theory at least, modify orthodox lines of authority.

(d) The people working in this organization presented a wide range of years working, ages, and level of skill.

CanRail was not perfect for the study. It is not an entirely autonomous entity, but rather a semi-autonomous local unit within the structure of a large, national organization. Ideally, interviews with those at the top of the policy-making hierarchy (in Eastern Canada) should have been undertaken. Nonetheless, CanRail's lack of complete autonomy is typical of many other companies' experiences of ever-expanding conglomerate ownership and control.

It was not necessary to ensure randomness of the sample drawn from within CanRail because inferential statistics were not being used. The selection of the 36 individuals interviewed was made on the following basis:

(a) the need to create the minimum possible disruption of the work flow;

(b) an agreement to help the company by interviewing a good number of people who had lived through changes in management policy;

(c) the desirability of balancing the sample in terms of age, type and place of work, years worked, skill level, and rank.

Consequently, the two main bases of sampling were the organization chart and the functional divisions of the organization. Within those main groups, one subject each was picked from each shift, from each work locale, and from unskilled and skilled job categories, mostly on

a random basis, but often according to who was the least busy at the time allotted for interviewing. Sometimes a foreman selected a "representative" employee, which unfortunately could not be controlled. The sample included 4 executives, 4 managers, 8 supervisors, and 20 workers.

E. Collection of Data

1. Interview arrangements. All the interviews were done in private, in rooms near to the subjects' workplaces, and on company time. In most cases they took place during a slack period or at the very beginning or end of a person's work-shift.

In order to help subjects relax, the seating was arranged to create the most informal atmosphere possible, and the investigator attempted to set the person at ease. Each interview lasted between 20 and 30 minutes; the utmost cooperation was received from the company so that at no time were people pressured to hurry.

2. Procedure. East subject was greeted with an explanation that the purpose of the study was to gather opinions on the type of management which included employees in decision-making about their work, and that it was being undertaken in pursuit of a Master of Education degree. People were told they would only be quoted by number and that the investigator had no vested interest in the outcome of the study, nor any role in the company. To give the subjects time to relax and evaluate the investigator's trustworthiness, straightforward questions about the nature of the person's job were asked. This also made it possible to check the rank classification and that the right person was being interviewed. In

all cases except two the subjects had visibly relaxed by this time; the great majority appeared to be quite willing to talk freely.

Next, the simulated problem situation instrument was administered. The subjects were handed a card describing the four decision methods from which to choose, and these were explained; they were given time to digest them and ask questions. They were then asked which method they thought a supervisor should choose in each of the six situations, which were given to them one by one on separate cards, the reasons for their choice being elicited after each one. Care was taken to give subjects the time they needed, with the exception of one subject who was apparently able to talk endlessly.

On completion of this phase, subjects were told that the investigator would now like to know more about their own personal experiences and feelings about participation, and appropriate questionning began. At the end of the interview the person was thanked for her or his time; several people asked if they could see the finished study, which seems to indicate they found the topic interesting.

3. Recording. It was the unanimous opinion of the experts that the original plan to use a tape recorder would inhibit and distract the subjects, so shorthand notes were taken instead. Sometimes remarks were recorded verbatim, and sometimes a summary of their content was used instead, together with observations made by the researcher. Eye-contact was maintained wherever possible to demonstrate attention.

In order to encourage the expression of "risky" feelings or values, a great effort was made to demonstrate acceptance; special care was taken to observe body language, tones of speech, or other clues to the affective or evaluative components of attitude.

F. Analysis of Data

A descriptive summary of each individual's reponses to both instruments was prepared and a rudimentary content analysis was performed. As many links as possible were sought between their comments, their apparent feelings, their responses to the simulations, their rank and their organizational experiences, with special attention being paid to discrepancies. If people's responses to the simulations differed from Vroom and Yetton's rational ones, reasons for this were sought among their other communications.

In addition to studying each subject, similarities and differences among subjects were sought, as well as any other tendencies or patterns suggested by the data itself. These findings are reported in Chapter 4 and analyzed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4. Results of the Study

A. Introduction

This chapter reviews the findings in relation to the first three research questions; the fourth will be dealt with in the conclusion of Chapter 5, since it concerns explanation rather than description.

As is apparent from the definitions of "attitude" and "participation" in Chapter 1, and the comments on methodology in Chapter 3, discovering people's attitudes towards participation could not simply be a matter of asking some direct questions and receiving conveniently clear answers. This is particularly obvious as far as trying to find and understand any discrepancies is concerned. In reporting on the findings, people's responses to the simulations and their answers to direct questions are considered together. In addition, a few days and nights spent amid the normal working activities aided the process of understanding people's references to work and interpreting their comments.

Although the investigator attempted to elicit people's attitudes to participation in general, as well as their evaluation of their present work experience, some respondents seemed unable to distinguish these two. Once or twice a person recited company policy rather than giving his own response to the simulations. Throughout it was repeatedly made clear that people's attitudes were very much influenced by their own specific experiences. Since many people did not always answer questions literally, but rather talked anecdotally of their past, it was often necessary to draw out the implications of their comments afterwards, either together with them or not. A high degree of commonality was found within the ranks, and considerable divergence among them, and so this was used as a basis for presenting the findings. A problem existed with the need to

describe patterns, similarities and differences without reporting complete details of each individual's unique profile; the provision of many illustrative examples is intended to resolve this problem. People have been referred to by rank and number in order to protect their privacy.

When people were asked to react to the investigator's definition of participation, many ended up sooner or later talking about a different one, which was usually not made explicit. Initially, the material gathered from people in management ranks appeared to be so complex as to be almost unmanageable; they often seemed to talk about something different from the question which stimulated their response. In addition, the nature of people's responses were such that they did not relate directly and discretely to the research questions. This problem was overcome by employing Miles's framework to order the material (1965); in the light of this framework, the inconsistencies in management's responses became more amenable to understanding and were therefore more manageable.

On the one hand, although most of them initially accepted a Human Resources definition of participation, they subsequently expressed attitudes and made assumptions which contradicted the model, and indeed were straight expressions of a Human Relations definition of participation. For example, it is not logically possible to simultaneously assert that workers are an untapped resource for creative decision-making, self-direction and self-control, while at the same time saying that they have been culturally molded into personalities which are either incapable or unwilling to accept responsibility (which most managerial people did).

On the other hand, they also displayed ideas which did not fit the Human Relations model either, for example, pointing to organizational characteristics which prevented real participation--without, however,

recognizing or spelling out the implications of these barriers. The following sections present material to illustrate how the research questions may be answered.

B. Research Question 1

The first question asked, "What attitudes do people of different rank at the CanRail Repaire Company hold towards participation as defined by the investigator? This study defined participation as any mode of organizational decision-making in which workers fully share with management power over their own activities. When talking with respondents, introducing the simulations, or clarifying questions, stress was put on the decision-making element, rather than on any results to be expected; this view matches Miles's Human Resources model in which greater efficiency results from a fuller utilization of workers' decision-making and other skills.

1. Workers. People in this group were very thoughtful about participation. As did the executives, they often had an overall perspective on participation as a general issue, but they spoke largely of practical matters in their own experience. They talked mainly in terms of using their own ideas about tasks, and of the value of being allowed to do the best job one can in one's own way. They described themselves as having very few such opportunities. With three exceptions, the workers showed by their intensity that they had strong feelings about their own role in the company and in respect of participation as an issue, which differs markedly from management's view of them. The type of feelings the workers expressed were of a different nature to those manifested by middle and lower management. They were mostly consistent in responding to the simulations and questions; feelings related directly to job experiences.

The aspect of participation which apparently most interested them, and about which they talked most, was the matter of being able to make judgments and decisions for themselves about the physical performance of the tasks they do--from planning the work, choosing from among alternative methods, disposition of their time, and combining a variety of jobs into a more varied and meaningful flow. Many expressed frustration with the present waste of their skills and ideas; they felt that although the company endorsed participation, it was totally over-ruled by what they experienced as pressure to produce fast work on repetitive jobs about which all the important decisions had already been made. A few of them had worked quite independently at times, although this was within the confines of particular, more or less unchanging, jobs. The following examples illustrate the terms in which workers spoke about participation:

Worker 27 was adamant: "That's the best way because <u>they</u> are not always right. I am always asked opinions and I give it and he gives his and we decide together the best way." He lamented the shortage of supervisors like his own: "I know for sure that labourers are just told to do jobs . . . If you are always being told just what to do, no-one wants to be pushed around as if they own you. People who are not happy at work are getting the same daily job all the time."

Worker 19 explained his view in terms of his own job: "It is the best type. If I am assigned a car, I know what is wrong with it and he doesn't. He goes by the cars, but I am on the job. I always ask his opinion to cover myself. Most employees work better with more leeway, except a few guys take too much. I work well with supervisors who are not pushy."

Worker 5 said he was in favour of participation because "A supervisor should try to get ideas from the employees," and Worker 24 gave his

personal reasons like this: "I have worked on a day shift that makes you nervous because they stand behind you and that stops you working right. We have a supervisor who gives orders and if you screwed up on the job they blamed you. It's better on evenings. The guys ask each other and discuss the problem. If you have an easier guy, you can discuss the problem more easily."

Worker 30 supported participation if there was a good supervisor: "If they were all fully competent, I believe that the foreman's position should be to dictate what the job is and where. Then when they (the workers) go to that job it is up to them to decide how to do the repair and what should be done exactly." Several workers implied that supervisors were preventing them from participating. For example, Worker 2 felt that the youth of the supervisors was a problem: "Young foremen trying to get ahead too fast make all the decisions themselves. The good ones listen . . . The type of people going into the bosses' jobs are the ones who don't want to work hard in the first place. There are some good ones."

Two workers were quite bitter about supervisors. Worker 8 said, "The company has gotten worse since I started. The foremen that have come into the shop recently have no knowledge about the shop at all. There is always a change-over of staff, and it is hard . . . Before, foremen that you know just came up through the ranks and know the work." Worker 1 was quite scathing: "People change when they are promoted. They are not supervisors, they are babysitters. The don't know any more than the workers. They should ask my opinion rather than telling me. You can't argue.

Worker 26 thought it was a matter of proper selection; he said, "I don't think they appoint people who are properly suited to the job. Some

of them are not sufficiently versed in their trade to guide others. Younger supervisors will perhaps learn in time." Worker 5 said that new foremen were better than they used to be, although "There's a problem because much younger people are becoming foremen and they don't have the knowledge and some are afraid to attempt it (participation). We have a lot who just don't know how to handle people; about 5 out of 20 I would like them to leave."

Worker 1 pointed out in the simulations that it was only worth involving workers on matters of importance to them. In general, "the more responsibility you put on an employee, the more he is apt to do a better job and take pride in his work. If he is just another link in the chain he gets no satisfaction and therefore tends not to work efficiently." Worker 22 had the same comments about wanting to make meaningful decisions. Worker 2 was not very communicative on this point, but picked Method D in four of the situations, saying, "You have got to see what everybody thinks," and "She is the only one that knows what is going on." For Worker 8, participation was good "because it gets the employee more involved in what he's doing and greater work efficiency comes then." For Worker 6, the result would be more intelligent work: "There's not enough chance for me to make decisions about my work. You would understand better what is going on in the job." To Worker 31, "It is a good thing . . . We would feel a lot better off. Some higher up people just don't realize how we feel about the job. If people had more responsibility for the job, they would do a better job."

Worker 14 commented that management expected involvement to motivate workers to do better, but he did not see it as a great motivator in the long run if it is compared with money; but he said, "more decisions on the actual job may motivate people because that's very important to them."

This was not the only worker who seemed at least vaguely aware that his idea of what participation should be differed from management's. Worker 15 commented about participation at CanRail: "I don't think workers' participation would help (motivation) a lot," but subsequently said, "You don't care much for them to treat you as a stupid . . . a foreman will assign you the same job twice, maybe four times . . . you feel frustrated if you want to do it one way and not the way it has always been done.

People in this group also frequently mentioned that they thought participation was impossible at CanRail because of the highly structured and routinized way in which people's jobs are designed, assigned, and scheduled. Here is how the workers themselves describe the problem:

Worker 22 (who was himself a skilled worker and felt he had more job decisions than most) said, "Most of the employees get a job given to them at four o'clock, run of the mill type work, and they get bored . . . they feel they're here for eight hours and that's it." Worker 5 was more explicit, as he suffered a great deal at work: "A lot of the problem here is frustration . . . You make a decision on a train . . . putting cards on 16, but foremen take the cards off 10 of them." He explained in detail an incident where he saw two side-steels on an outbound train which had been missed on inspection and which he wanted to repair for safety reasons. The foreman refused to let him fix the car, saying the job was not on the card and anyway it was too expensive. This employee was very cynical about higher management's claim that workers' participation is encouraged; he felt keeping down costs and making money was such an overriding priority that all the rest was just talk.

Worker 30 said: "My ideas don't coordinate with management. The management have the attitude they want the unit out, and emphasize

production, not quality. There is constant pressure for this. 'Reduce downtime' is the main goal, and this has caused people to slack off in the quality of the work . . . A lot of people who are good, qualified tradespersons have attitudes like those people of less knowledge; they don't care any more. Even I myself now go for the amount, and it's habit-forming." He said he was "surprised that executives don't see that" and laughed at the idea that the company practised particiation; "There is not enough freedom, far from enough, for the worker to decide. They think there is, but it's only principle, not practice."

Worker 1 said, "The whole structure here is what affects workers' efficiency and responsibility. They don't have to think or anything," while Worker 27 said, "The shifts you are on . . . affect how content you are with the work . . . labourers are told just to do jobs. If you have seniority you can bid into any job . . . if you don't, you don't have a chance." Worker 8, who did have seniority, felt that even that did not help much: "Everything speeded up does not make for more efficiency. If the person only does one thing, he is skilled but not motivated." Worker 17 pointed out that the workers around him always wanted to make decisions about how and when to handle tasks, but they were prevented because "rules and regulations must be followed."

Other workers who spoke in favour of participation said they thought it would not work at CanRail unless the company managed to attract more qualified workers. Said Worker 20, "I think here that the supervisor has to make a lot of decisions for the employee because he doesn't have the information and the experience to do an efficient job." Worker 30 agreed: "Our shop is not as well trained as it should be as far as tradespersons are concerned." Worker 1 was gloomy: "This company is probably the worst

place I have ever seen as far as efficiency goes. May be 10% know their job, and the rest struggle through the day. You can get by without knowing anything."

Several workers had so little personal experience of participation in decision-making about work that they had trouble visualizing what the supervisor's role would be when it did occur. This showed up during the simulations; they had often said unequivocally that a particular situation was best decided by the workers, but then frequently they seemed doubtful about what the supervisor would be doing in the meantime. They would often say dubiously things like: "But that's the supervisor's job?" and then start questioning their own choice of decision method. For example, Worker 8 chose Method D for Situation 3, but then in a quizzical manner said, "This is a management problem. This is very interesting." Worker 27 made choices and justifications on the simulations that were consistent with his own approval of participation, but three times he switched from Method D to Method C, with comments like, "But in the end the supervisor has to decide." Worker 24 also had this difficulty, making several justifications such as, "He's the boss" in a worried manner, shrugging.

There were two workers who chose participative decision methods during the simulations but later said they did not approve of participation. Worker 10 lamented the fact that there was no longer "quite the control that there used to be . . . people have got lax." She was adamant that "increased participation would not help," although she also said, "The problem today is they don't have enough responsibility to feel they are accomplishing anything." When asked if participation would at least help to give more of this responsibility, she said: "The generation is changing.

They don't care if they get bawled out. It's hard to fire them and they know it."

Similarly, Worker 26 said things during the simulations such as, "It should be up to the employees to decide among themselves;" and for Situation 5 he said, "He (sic) is an extremely competent person who is aware of what to do." But this man subsequently said that motivation was a problem in the company because "there is no clear choice between doing a job properly and going home." Throughout the interview he talked vehemently about supervisors: "There is a tendency here for supervisors not to have enough authority . . . I don't think they appoint people who are properly suited for the job . . . supervisors are more friendly than they used to be--none of these crack the whip ever. There is too much friendliness." This worker often seemed muddled and upset; perhaps his inconsistency could be explained by the fact that he only chose participative methods in situations remote from his own experience which had no emotional impact.

Finally, Worker 31 was quite consistent with his own statements and choices, but not with all of the other people in this rank. He seemed reasonably comfortable at the beginning of the interview, but when he read the first situation and was asked about the decision method he became extremely rigid--sometimes he would just refuse to justify a decision, shrugging and merely re-iterating his choice. For example, in Situation 1, he said, "I would just tell them," and for Situation 4 he said," He should be fired. Nothing to decide." As he was leaving, he returned and said that once he had owned a business that had gone bankrupt, after which he chose a job with the least possible responsibility; "I want <u>them</u> to have the headaches. I used to have the headaches. Not any more!"

In sum, all except three of the workers consistently endorsed participation as defined by the investigator, and they chose decision-methods consistent with that principle.

2. Management. Although almost all the people in the three management ranks initially said they agreed with participation as defined by the investigator, it subsequently became clear that none of them envisaged extensive use of workers' potential for decision-making about work. Although there were isolated references to experiences where "better" results had been obtained when workers' ideas had been used, management people did not talk a great deal about production itself, or of workers' relationship to their work. Rather, they talked of the relationship between management and workers, and this will be explored in Section C.

(a) Executives. Of all the people who participated in this study, the executive group was the most calm in their discussions of participation. This was not a matter of not caring, for at least three of those interviewed clearly cared very much indeed; it was more a case of speaking with more conviction and determination than people in other groups about the principles involved in participation. This was the only group to raise a justice aspect of participation, to convey a feeling that they felt it was the decent way for a humane organization to conduct itself. Their justifications for chosing decision methods were expressed in rational terms, and there were few signs of emotions interfering with explanation.

Nevertheless, the fact remained that the company was still experiencing the same problems that the official encouragement of participation was intended to overcome, and the executives were certainly most frustrated with that. Although the people in this group had more decision-making power than others, they felt quite helpless about this problem.

Three of the four executives expressed overall approval of the definition presented by the investigator. Executive 25 said in response, "I believe in participation . . . (but) . . . it depends on the type of work. It will be different in the shop and the yards," explaining that he thought participation was sometimes just not possible. He also liked to keep some control over things: "But I would like to see everything come into this office, just to see, not to make all the decisions. . . . I am too busy now to do all the decision-making . . . if you have to confer with your people, ask them about the job, and you get better results."

Executive 11 said, "D is right, generally . . . We have changed. When I started work, everyone was like a robot." But this man was very conscious of having final responsibility for all decisions: "You are always involved in the discussion or you'd have lack of control," and he made it clear that it was management's decisions that he would choose to involve people in. But he was adamant about the principle: "You have to trust people! I could make the decision but that's not sensible use of (my) time and the guy on the floor isn't learning anything . . . I know it gives greater efficiency . . . If you ask for ideas, they're often better than your own." Similarly, Executive 12 said, "The average worker can help you a lot. He has experience and a lot of things going for you . . . Most of the time, they have a better idea than we do. They are working with it." He also said that "The change toward training supervisors for workers' participation has lots of merit."

Despite the initial endorsement of the principle by these executives, the next section will show that quite a different model to the one underlying the investigator's definition was predominant in their minds.

Executive 35 differed somewhat from the others; his talk centred on the company itself, and he said, "It used to be military . . . there has been a change for the worse. People have to have direction . . . (but) allow deviation from the line."

(b) Managers. Responses from this group reflected similar themes to those raised by executives, although managers focused more on practical problems than on broad issues; and their responses were more evaluative and emotional. They resembled the executives in their initial acceptance of the investigator's definition of participation while subsequently expressing views inconsistent with it and endorsing a contrary perspective.

Manager 16 said, "I am definitely in favour of this style . . . I think it's good on the whole because I find in my experience that the people who have worked on these whole jobs take a good interest; in the most part they like a little bit of responsibility, and this makes them perform a little better . . . they are always looking for something better and in an organization like ours the more responsibility and challenge you give to these people, the better they perform for you." Manager 29 agreed: "Generally, yes, workers should participate with the supervisor in everything they do. They should not be totally on their own and the supervisor should know what is going on . . . You must definitely use their input to get their attention otherwise they feel it is boring routine." He did feel that there was a certain "type," however, to whom "you don't give leeway . . . (but) you can't jump on them or they will take off"; he also said that some younger workers simply "do not feel tied to their jobs."

Manager 15 said, "I would let an individual do the inspecting and the repairs himself . . . I really think that this is a lot more efficient.

And a person feels more like a person if you say, 'that is your car and you take care of it.' Give him the responsibility and he does a better job." He pointed out that work organization decisions could not presently be made at this level in the hierarchy. Similarly, Manager 29 felt that the physical organization of work at CanRail was extremely logical, but the cost of keeping the work system fixed was to prevent any workers from participating at all in decisions about how their jobs are organized, and this helped to bring about the company's problems: "High turnover is the bad one. All our problems are people problems, not mechanical problems." Manager 21 did not talk explicitly about the problems of work organization, but he did say, "Ideally . . . I would work more closely within units to make changes in work methods."

The managers seemed to be more conscious than were the executives that one's view of what participation means depends upon one's position in the company; they talked a lot about difficulties at the supervisory level in particular. They all said that the success of participation depends upon how well supervisors have been trained for it and how far higher management would clarify authority lines.

For example, Manager 16, while seeming reluctant to criticise the company, painted a picture of supervisors struggling to reconcile the company's encouragement of participation with the realities of rigid structures: "Although we have the form,[1] supervisors are trying to give workers more and more chances to make their own decisions. His key role should be to guide them, help them with regulations; but this is a problem with

---

1. He was referring to the form which is used to control the division of work, a copy of which is shown in Appendix V.

so many supervisors . . . Our superintendent should continue the classes for supervisors . . . to show how to deal with these problems." Manager 29 also perceived that appropriate supervisor training was a prerequisite for participation to work, as was the careful selection of supervisors. The other two managers were inclined to blame supervisors for the failure of participation at CanRail. Manager 21 commented that, "In most cases the supervisors up and coming don't seem to have the same drive to get work done compared to supervisors when I was on the tools. The courses for supervisors are one of the better things I have seen on the railway, but still in a lot of cases they are giving these courses too late, six months or a year after they have already formed bad habits." Manager 33 felt supervisors were suffering from the same low morale as workers: "My biggest complaint is that people don't take the pride in their work that they used to. I would love to see them take more responsibility. The younger people don't want responsibility. I am talking about the new supervisors." But Manager 21 was the most explicit person interviewed about the problems of trying to practice participation within orthodox structures: "Supervisors don't get the backing . . . in most cases the upper management will not back you up. They put you on all these courses and tell you that you have the authority (to carry out changes), but it seems that they don't want you to apply it."

(c) Supervisors. Although all but two of the supervisors initially expressed agreement with participation as defined by the investigator, people in this group appeared to have wildly varying personal definitions of participation (which are discussed in Section C below). The high degree of confusions and inconsistency in their responses to simulations and interview questions provides an illustration of the tension they

seemed to feel on the subject. The beliefs they uttered about the good effects of participation were not always in line with their choices, or with the emotions that were apparently aroused when making choices of decision method with which they were clearly not comfortable.

Two of the supervisors said they did not favour participation. Supervisor 18 was negative by implication; he praised autocratic methods instead: "I am a new supervisor, just a few months. I started out laying down the law and it worked very well . . . (then) you make all these concessions hoping to gain more. When it comes to the crunch, nobody (does what you want) . . . I would like to see it a little stiffer." But this person's responses to the simulations gave a different impression; he selected Method D in two places. This supervisor seemed confused; he spent a lot of time describing complicated interpersonal incidents with workers which seemed to have led him to reject the promise that participation had, he said, previously held for him, replacing it with a negative view of workers.

Supervisor 28 also apparently opposed participation; he referred during the interview to its inadequacy in the absence of other motivators, especially money, and training in mechanical skills. He felt participation was not a viable option for CanRail: "Workers' participation would not be important here unless the whole structure changes." He felt quite bitter about people above him in the hierarchy, and felt their attitudes prevented participation from working: "It seems to me that a lot of management people here have a chip on their shoulder. They work backwards to get it all messed up. There are no money incentives for the men. People have to be self-motivated here, and a lot of them complain all the time . . . I have to spend a lot of time babysitting; I would

like to see a decent pay scale. Why train a person and then he walks down the street and gets more money?" It seemed that this supervisor felt participation to be almost irrelevant in the face of the company's failure to pay enough.

The remaining supervisors resembled other management people in respect of their initial agreement with participation as defined by the investigator, but subsequently they made very few comments that would fit a conception of participation that entails fully utilizing workers' abilities. Judging from their comments, it seems very likely that they only agreed with the investigator's definition because they did not realize its difference from their own.

Supervisor 4 was the only one to make direct reference to the value to the organization of obtaining workers' ideas, with comments such as, "They know best, you don't," and "If I can talk to a guy, he may have an idea which is better than mine." Nonetheless, a Human Relations model dominated his responses: "If you give them a little responsibility they are working with you instead of against you. It runs a smoother shop . . . more team work . . . the cooperation goes up." Other supervisors made reference to some workers' desires for more responsibility, but explained why they felt it was not possible to respond to this need. Supervisor 18 said, "People like to be asked what they think about the job. In our work there are twelve ways of doing a job and maybe two are the right way. Some fellow believes his is the right way . . . he goes for a fine way, for quality work, even though it takes hours and hours. You <u>can't</u> let them do it their own way!"

Supervisor 7 also felt time pressure prevented his putting participation into effect: "In certain situations I think it is great . . . but

it is limited because there is only so much time and the job has got to be done." Time was also seen as a factor preventing supervisors from training workers enough to take more responsibility: Supervisor 18 said, "Maybe if the supervisor had a lot more time to help them learn . . . but if you have a whole green crew you can't divide your time up ideally." This thought was also expressed by Supervisor 32: "It's very hard to teach someone you have not got the time to spend with."

Supervisor 13 did not talk in human resource terms, but he did "correctly" diagnose the three situations where participation was appropriate; mostly he found it difficult to verbalize his reasons, except for Situation 5, where he offered a Human Resources reason: "We can't take the initiative away from employees . . . We have to let them share."

Most supervisors showed a high degree of feeling in the interview and in their responses to the simulations. The overall mood they conveyed was one of frustration and powerlessness; and appeals for "consistency" seemed to illustrate their sense of isolation and doubt.

Although they said that they were expected to encourage participation, and felt that it could go a long way to reducing company problems, they felt this would only work if conditions which beyond their own control were present--above all, some means of attracting and keeping the kind of workers who could handle more challenge and responsibility. They felt the "curing" of low morale was seen as their responsibility, but they did not know how to make participation actually work. Several had problems envisaging the supervisor's role when selecting decision methods. A typical experience was that of Supervisor 3, who eventually decided that all the decisions except that of Situation 1 were the supervisor's

job to make, but was not comfortable when trying to justify his choices. In Situation 5, for example, he proposed a very cumbersome solution: "He has no knowledge about the system and he has to get the information from the secretary so that he can make the decision. He has to have the final say on that." Several supervisors expressed a need for more training both for themselves and their colleagues. Supervisor 18 said, "We have several new supervisors who have no idea of the best way to deal with problems. They scream and holler and they will form habits before long." Supervisor 32 said, "We used to have group discussions among the supervisors, but now everybody seems to be going in a different direction. A lot of our problem is due to the lack of cohesiveness, and this reflects among the employees. You can hear employees complain about the supervisors' lack of training." Supervisor 4 felt that the inconsistent treatment which workers received from different supervisors was causing participation to fail: "I would like to see the supervisors working on a straight line, consistency among them."

So many of the supervisors showed apprehension towards relinquishing decision-making responsibility during the simulations, coupled with signs of discomfort and declarations in favour of participation in general, that one did not get the impression that this was a group of power-hungry individuals jealously clinging to their decision-making role as a means of "personal aggrandisement" of the kind that McClelland and Burnham (1976) found among managers in their study. Rather, they appeared to be reluctant to practise participation because they could not imagine what else their job could entail without the major activities of directing and controlling, and because higher management defined a limiting role for them. Supervisor 3 said, "Managers above supervisors

are pretty well the old school. Ingrained." There were also other occasional references to influences from above them that limited their own power to delegate authority, such as Supervisor 32's comment that "There have been all kinds of suggestions like rotating shifts," but that these could not be decided even at their own level in the hiearchy, or Supervisor 18's experiences of pressure to push for more production quantity: "Higher management have asked us to bone up on time standards . . . Now the push is on to tighten up." The supervisors as a group conveyed a strong feeling of frustration with the whole idea of participation; they felt that inconsistent demands were made upon them in the name of this principle.

C. Research Question 2

The second question was, "In comparison with the definitions discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, what does participation mean to people of different rank in the CanRail Repair Company?

In cognitive terms, to people in the three management ranks at CanRail the concept of participation very closely parallelled the Human Relations model described by Miles to predominate among the managers studied in the United States (1965). Practising participative management at CanRail appeared to mean making the greatest possible effort to ensure that workers were consulted, treated with respect, in the hope that feelings of involvement and satisfaction would result, which were seen to lead in theory to a reduction in morale problems such as high absenteeism and turnover rates.

1. Executives. Extensive use of workers' self-direction or initiative in setting and pursuing goals was not envisaged by the executives. In Miles's Human Relations model, this is the case because workers are not

seen as being sufficiently capable of taking such responsibilities. The following comments illustrate the similarity between the Human Relations model of participation (as Miles defines it) and the views of executives, in particular their stress on workers' feelings:

Executive 25 said, "Ask how they feel about the goals you set. Nowadays, you don't tell people . . . If the manager just tells people, you will find people will not do it." Executive 12 said, "I think it generally does motivate workers . . . It is very important for workers to feel that their ideas are listened to. If you don't, they will give up trying." Executive 11 seemed to feel modern managers had little choice in the matter: "Employees must be satisfied, or they won't come to work." Although Executive 35 did not favour participation, he did acknowledge some value in "consultation" as a motivator; and he, too, mentioned that "You can't force anyone" nowadays.

The executives also shared the Human Relations model's perspective on the characteristics of workers. All four of them put more "blame" for the company's motivation problems on to historical changes in working force characteristics generally, rather than suggesting the possibility that participation as practised at CanRail was limited; they conveyed the feeling that management could do nothing to solve problems that were created by this external trend. For example, Executive 25 said in response to Situation 3 that, "You can't trust employees to stick to time," and Executive 35 said, "In reality people will take (time off) whenever they can . . . Very few people really love work. It's a means to an end. Today's people don't think of work as what the company can do. . . Now people are not willing to work hard and learn that they did it wrong." Executive 12 said, "Now attitudes to work have changed. Kids today can

take time off, the money's okay. Some kids don't want to work . . . workers' participation doesn't help those who are just looking for a place to work. They are not interested in a career. People's private time is more important than it ever used to be." Executive 11, although generally adamant about the value of participation as a motivator, felt there was an increasing trend among youngsters to give priority to their social needs; he thought that those needs which the company could ever meet were becoming relatively less important as time went on. Consequently, he and the others felt, it was the workers' fault if participation failed to motivate: "Some workers . . . all the participation in the world won't motivate them . . . they don't want to think . . .workers look for something where they're happy . . . if it's not their bag, workers' participation won't help. Getting the right man in the right job is a process of matching."

2. Managers. People of this rank also appeared to conceive of participation mainly in terms of Miles's Human Relations model, the most noticeable aspect of this being the same lack of confidence in workers as a class thatthe executives had expressed. For example, although Manager 33 said, "I believe in it. I feel it is a very good idea," he said it was not getting the expected results, for example, in curing absenteeism. "I don't think it's CanRail's problem because I have talked to people elsewhere. It's a social problem . . . workers' participation won't make any difference to that 60% who simply don't care. (We) should attract and keep the right kind of workers . . . I would let off 60% and pay the rest double and work to that." Similarly, Manager 16 said, "Modern attitudes due to too much money . . . in society as a whole, people want more leisure time . . . absenteeism and tardiness bother me more

than anything." Manager 21 was pessimistic: "Things are going from bad to worse. The attitude now is to do less work. Reasons? . . . some people complain about money, yet they must have enough money to be able to take time off." Manager 29 expressed a different, less gloomy, view: "There seems definitely to have been a change for the better over the years. The old method worked when people were not educated and they expected not to participate, and were content to be in a worker's role. Nowadays our society is affluent and knowledgeable." Nevertheless, this manager's responses to the simulations did not exhibit much trust of workers, even for a relatively minor matter such as choosing a coffee-break time; for Situation 3 he said, "Definitely not D. The people may pick the busiest time of day."

In addition to these views matching a Human Relations view of workers' characteristics, the managers also showed in their responses to the simulations that they were either not comfortable at all with workers participating fully in decisions, or they justified choosing Method D by reference to feelings rather than facts or logic. For example, Manager 33 appeared to believe that participation yielded more social comforts than other methods. In selecting Method D for Situation 1, he justified his choice by saying, "I would much rather talk it over with my subordinates and superior" and for Situation 3 he said, "You might solve the problem quicker yourself, but that would cause other problems." For Situation 5, this manager vascillated, finally saying with apparent anxiety, "I would certainly <u>have</u> to depend upon my clerk, who is capable . . I would listen to her ideas. But I would make the final decision in case there was something I disagreed with. As with other managers, there was no cognitive argument in this choice; the fact that the sales manager

knew nothing at all about the filing system was ignored. Manager 15 chose Method C for this situation; when asked why, he threw the card aside with a yawn (he was quite alert the rest of the time) and said, "You would certainly have to have everybody involved." This manager also seemed very uncomfortable with his selection of Method D for Situation 1; he concluded, "Maybe all of them would say, 'to heck with that!'" Other justifications he offered implied lack of choice, such as "I would have to rely on their information," and he appeared to be quite unable to provide a justification for an autocratic decision in Situation 3, saying vaguely when pressed, "This method will solve the problem in any case."

3. Supervisors. This group was almost unanimous in holding a perception of participation which matched Miles's Human Relations model, especially in respect of their assumptions about workers. They not only showed doubt that workers were capable of responsible decision-making and self-control; most of them expressed a conviction that the majority of workers could not be trusted with responsibility.

For example, Supervisor 32 said, "Right now around here it's yes and no. I can be honest in saying I agree with employee participation . . . but I would fire 80% of the employees . . . remove the very poor employee that doesn't want to do anything because he is lazy and low in knowledge and no initiative. . . . This situation prevents the supervisor from giving workers responsibility." His general operating principle seemed to be not to trust any workers at all; for example, he did not even want any consultation over the choice of a coffee-break time in Situation 3: "You pretty weel have to take it in hand . . . otherwise someone will take advantage of you."

Similarly, Supervisor 7 said, "We have been getting higher and higher turnover. I notice a lot of apathy, even among foremen . . . catch

it from their men. The foremen can only do so much to make them work, and they know it, and tell you to kiss off."

His feeling was echoed by Supervisor 28 who said, "Especially young people have very little sense of responsibility," and by Supervisor 13, who said, "Only in the last few years have workers been considered for participation . . . Today there is no respect for the supervisor. It's a general social trend of loss of respect for all authority." This person did not apparently notice any inconsistency in demanding respect for people in management as proof of being suited to independent and responsible decision-making. Sometimes it was hard to remember that the people in this group were talking about participation at all. For example, while Supervisor 23 said that participation might work if the workers had the right attitudes, he thought this was not likely to occur at CanRail because "It seems to be harder to keep people under control; everybody expects work to be easier. I don't think there's any way to deal with this . . . the company has done everything they can to solve the problem."

Supervisor 23 also appeared to trust no workers. In discussion Situation 2, he said, "Don't tell them there'll be a bonus because they will be liable to work faster so the quality might suffer because they would be thinking about the bonus and not the work." For Situation 6, he suggested talking to employees, "but don't say why; pretend you don't have anyone in mind." Although he sometimes chose less than autocratic methods on the simulations, he explained that in these cases a supervisor had no choice, "because if you just tell the men what to do nowadays they will not do it."

Several supervisors commented that they thought participation (in their Human Relations sense) would only work with the "top of the line" worker. As Supervisor 32 said, "The person who has basic knowledge and is good mechanically you find yourself trusting all you can and just providing him with information. But we have another kind of person you know right away that you will be talking three miles over his head, and you are wasting your time and his time and it's better to be blunt."

Another way in which supervisors' comments showed that they had a Human Relations model of participation in mind was the frequent stress on making workers feel good rather than mentioning the benefits of fully using all available human resources. Throughout the interviews, supervisors repeatedly expressed concern over what they described as low morale and efficiency among the workers under them. They felt this to be the central problem of their job, but they varied in respect of how directly they connected it to participation as a possible "cure."

For example, Supervisor 3 said, "I feel workers' participation is a good plan. Everyone should have a chance to have a say in their work. They would be happier in their work. . . Here workers seem very dissatisfied. I would like them to have more say. This might help them be more satisfied." Supervisor 7 said he tried "to do it as much as possible . . . (because) in certain situations I think it is great to solve everything democratically and make sure everybody has nice feelings." Supervisor 13 regarded participative management as "taking a personal interest," and said, "I try to do it, but the young ones don't have that understanding." He seemed to feel that participation was not working now, but that it used to when these ideas were first tried: "It is becoming more and more of a problem to let workers participate in decisions

and different work methods . . . they don't seem to be responding to our treatment."

Many comments were made by supervisors to show that several other conceptions of the idea were prevalent. For example, Supervisor 18 told of his attempts to arrange a somewhat unusual social event for his work crew on their free time; their failure to show up was interpreted by him to show that workers' participation does not work. Two others seemed to lapse repeatedly into an assumption that participation was laissez-faire leadership, and the only alternative to total autocracy; and it was clear that several others viewed participation as a form of benevolent paternalism.

4. Workers. As has already been pointed out, the workers consistently endorsed the concept of participation provided by the investigator. It is, however, interesting to compare their perceptions with the beliefs prevalent in other ranks that making workers feel more appreciated and involved would theoretically overcome the morale problem, and that a culture-wide anti-work ethic was interfering with the success of this.

There were two kinds of comments from workers which related to this. First, two-thirds of the workers recognized the morale problem, but they almost unanimously attributed it mainly to uncompetitive wage structures at CanRail. They perceived a discrepancy between their own bosses telling them that they were important and appreciated, at the same time as the company indicated the level of its regard for their worth by paying less than labour-market averages. Several workers felt that if people's needs for financial and other incentives were not met, then no amount of trying to make them feel involved would solve the motivation problem. In the words of Worker 1, "The employee who does good work doesn't get credit

such as higher pay," while Worker 5 said, "The wages are good for the work you do, but you can earn more outside." Worker 20 agreed, and said, "I think it's more money that motivates people to work, to stay on . . . and physical conditions should be improved." Worker 19 was more specific: "I would increase motivation with more wages. Some people here earn $8 and have four kids and a rent of $600." He pointed out a feeling of powerlessness to bargain for realistic wages, as the contract was negotiated "down East" and, he said, favoured eastern workers. He also felt people were not encouraged to make real commitments to their jobs because "we are not getting transportable qualifications . . . our trade qualifications should fit in more with the outside world." Worker 15 felt higher pay was important to reduce turnover: "If the money was more, there'd be more chance they'd stay . . . and you'd get more experienced people, the cream of the crop . . . people justaren't motivated to keep their jobs here; pay raises would be good."

Although the workers did reject the assumptions behind management's Human Relations conception of participation, several did say that they preferred this supervision style to others they had experienced. For example, Worker 17 said, "I think the men around here like to have their say in what should be done . . . workers' participation is okay for motivation." He gave several examples of authoritarian management styles from about 40 years ago, and said the trend to participation was more just. Worker 36 said, "I prefer the boss who will ask my opinions and give advice and suggestions, not orders. It is easier to work well with such a boss." Worker 6 said, "It would be better because people communicate with each other and not fight. Work goes a lot easier." Worker 5, on the other hand, had yet to meet such a supervisor: "You need to have

recognition for finding problems. You never get a thank-you for anything. I have on one in five years." Worker 22 said, "The supervisor end of it is getting better all the time. There is always the bad egg . . . the supervisors do try to get the workers to participate as much as they can, but for a large part there is too many hard feelings between supervisors and workers. There is not the requisite of trust between them." Worker 17 was full of praise for the courses for supervisors "which have reduced friction . . . and help them to control themselves." Nevertheless, he felt there was still a problem: "We have quite a percentage of young foremen and many of them lack the basic experience of dealing with people, and the job experience . . . Many of these bosses are not up on technical information."

There were a few workers who, like Miles's managers (1965) had one standard for themselves and another for workers in general. As Worker 2 said, he favoured the "new" style of supervision for himself, but not for "most other workers." Worker 30, who professed to be in favour of participation for himself, did not approve of "changes in the style of supervision," and felt that supervisors feared unpopularity and hence "are doing the bare minimum of supervision."

Om terms of feelings, to people of all ranks participation at CanRail seemed to mean frustration. The executives felt frustrated because their goodwill towards the workers and their attempts to foster considerate and democratic treatment of workers was not being rewarded with the hoped-for improved morale. The managers felt frustrated because they were aware of concrete problems which participation, they thought, could

not help. But the greatest frustration of all was manifested at supervisor level. To these people participation meant almost pure headache, for they felt the crunch between demands to make workers more happy and compliant with the company's goals at the same time as reducing downtime and costs and adhering to fixed work structures. There were also indications that they felt themselves to be blamed by superiors for continuing problems of turnover, absenteeism and inefficiency; and perhaps in consequence to this they showed very angry feelings about the workers' failure to cooperate. So in spite of their statements that participation was a "good thing," this word seemed to conjure up more misery than anything else to the supervisors.

At the workers' level, the focus of frustrations associated with participation was the day-to-day limitation experienced in their jobs, and a general distrust towards management. They seemed to feel they were expected to behave as though they were being offered opportunities to take responsibility while in reality they felt their working existence was tightly structured and controlled.

In sum, participation mean different things to management and workers; it represented frustration to most of them, entailing various degrees of hope, humanitarianism, disappointment, and even bitterness. No-one appeared to be indifferent to the idea, and it seems as though people's feelings about their different ideas of participation were sufficiently strong as to create serious misunderstandings among the ranks.

D. Research Question 3

The third question asked, "What discrepancies, if any, are there in people's attitudes towards participation and between what they endorse in principle and endorse in practice?

The most obvious discrepancy was between the approval expressed by most people in the three management ranks with the investigator's Human Resources definition of participation and their subsequent statements in contradiction to it. For example, the executives noted both the costs of workers' powerlessness in general theory, and the fact that CanRail's highly structured task-role organization was largely fixed at national level, yet they did not attribute the failure of participation to improve efficiency and morale to any company characteristic, but rather to a perceived anti-work ethic described as spreading among the working class generally. Moreover, all of the management people to some extent portrayed workers as being largely not capable of greater self-direction and responsibility, essential ingredients of decision-making in the Human Resources model.

The inconsistency between supporting elements of two logically incompatible models of participation manifested itself partly in choices, such as Executive 35's selection of decision Method D and of more participative methods than Vroom and Yetton's criteria indicated in four of the situations--even though he spoke against participation; but mostly it showed up in expressions of frustration and disappointment with participation, without anyone being willing to jettison the policy either. In talking of their company's experiences, there was a vivid awareness that CanRail suffered badly from high absenteeism and turnover, or lack of pride in work, and they recognized that the company's present reliance on participation to overcome these motivation problems was not successful. Rather than suggestion weaknesses in how participation is practised at CanRail, however, the cause of workers' motivation problems was seen as external, with no solutions being envisaged.

Nevertheless, all of the executives seemed to be on the verge of identifying a basic weakness in CanRail's participation policies. Even though no direct, verbal connection was made between participation and the technological constraints within which it must operate at CanRail, the executives did connect the latter with an absence of pride in work. Executive 25 said, "You will get more if they are involved in setting up the work," (but when asked if workers were presently ever allowed to do this, he replied in the negative, and gave as his reason: "They won't fix something unless told. The workforce has changed.") Executive 25 said,"Everything is written on a piece of paper now, and we don't give opportunity for judgment. It's not possible to take pride in work these days." Executive 35 did recognize a conflict, too, between present work arrangements and unorthodox models; he said, "Working in teams like at Volvo can't work here . . . Large operations like ourse, you can't." Executive 11 also referred to this constraint: "In our old organization . . . each worker checked each car by himself . . . People have lost a lot." He did not spell out the implications of this; indeed, he said, "People are told personally" to put quality before quantity, yet he did not say anything in recognition of a problem expressed by several workers that the existing work arrangements created great pressure to do the reverse.

At the manager level, the inconsistency between endorsing a model whose assumptions they later contradicted manifested itself in signs of personal discomfort, especially when trying to justify decision-method choices. For example, Manager 21, who picked Method C rather than D for Situation 1, said, "Quite often we have problems, but in many cases I like to reserve the decision to myself. This is a general principle."

For Situation 3 (which required Method D), he selected the most autocratic method possible, becoming somewhat aggressive when being asked why, and saying, "For the simple reason I would like to make the decision myself. That is my job." He did select Method D for Situation 5; he justified it somewhat curtly--"She has the information"--implying that there was no choice but to delegate in this case.

Like the executives, the managers appeared to be on the verge of recognizing that CanRail's structures were preventing "real" participation from working, but they remained trapped in the you-can't-trust-workers logic. Their ambivalence towards the idea of supervisors delegating decision-making power was also related to their position in the hierarchy; they were oriented to the practicalities of participation more than were the executives, especially regarding limits set by the organization itself.

Unlike other people in the management ranks, the supervisors did not swing between two mutually exclusive models of participation. Apart from some idiosyncratic viewpoints on what participation could mean, they unanimously endorsed two principles of the Human Relations model proposed by Miles (1965), namely that (a) making workers feel involved should improve morale, and (b) workers cannot be trusted with much more responsibility. They felt themselves to be caught between demands to solve the morale problem through participation on the one hand, and both organizational constraints and an intrinsically unmotivated work force on the other. Perhaps because of this frustration, supervisors displayed much more and stronger feelings on the subject than did other management personnel.

Even within the limits of their Human Relations conception of participation, CanRail management were faced with a discrepancy between

expected and actual outcomes. In spite of apparently believing that if workers are treated with consideration and respect, involved in general discussions, and generally asked for their opinions, they will be happier and more cooperative, all of the management people interviewed were uncomfortably aware that in spite of this policy workers' morale problems appeared to be getting worse. They resolved this discrepancy by stating that participation only works with the "right" kind of people, and that these are increasingly difficult to find because of cultural changes reducing the value of work in general. As the report of interviews with workers shows, this study does not provide any evidence that a general anti-work ethic prevails among the CanRail workers; on the contrary, they were frustrated precisely because they had unmet expectations of their work.

E. Summary

With the exception of one or two individuals, everyone professed an approval of participation, but their conception of whatit meant only coincided with the Human Resources definition used in this study in the case of the workers; management people endorsed a Human Relations approach most of the time. One finding common to all ranks was a lack of familiarity with role relationships under participation of the Human Resources kind.

The executives spoke unemotionally on the subject of participation, but they appeared to be disappointed in CanRail's experience of it. They appeared to regard participation more in terms of an unspoken moral contract by which humane and considerate treatment of workers should ideally be rewarded with more commitment to work than was currently apparent.

While anxiously without solutions for the problems it was aimed at overcoming, they nonetheless did not recommend jettisoning the policy.

The managers, on the other hand, although agreeing with the idea that a general anti-work ethic limits participation's benefits anyway, appeared more concerned with practical difficulties within the organization itself--such as lack of suitable supervisor training, or pressures to reduce downtime. But supervisors subscribed more adamantly than did others to a Human Relations perspective of participation; they certainly did not believe that workers could be trusted with more self-direction or freedom from controls; in fact, they blamed everything on workers' bad attitudes, and their most popular answer to the company's problems was firing the majority of workers.

While people of all ranks acknowledged a problem of low worker morale and inefficiency in the organization, management people attributed this to external forces beyond their control demotivating the workforce, and they used this belief to explain why participation, Human Relations style, was not having the desired effect at CanRail. They either felt that workers were not willing or capable of handling much more responsibility than they have now, or that no amount of participation will succeed in motivating them because of a culturally predetermined lack of motivation--a view which contrasted vividly with the prevailing view at worker level. The workers felt that participation, Human Resources style, is not practised much at CanRail, and that morale is low because of too low pay, perceived shortcomings in supervisors, and lack of use of their skills and ideas.

In sum, although there were some differences among views and feelings within all four ranks, the greatest differences occurred between workers

and the three management ranks, both in relation to what is perceived as reality and what is seen as a desirable goal. The only thing held in common by all was frustration with the problems they connected to the idea of participation in one way or another.

Since Research Question 4 does not entail description, but instead involves interpretation, it will be addressed in the Conclusion of Chapter 5 rather than having been included in this chapter's descriptive account.

Chapter 5. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

A. Summary

In Chapter 1 it was pointed out that much academic work and some industrial experimentation had been aimed at overcoming the effects upon people at work of being powerless. Various styles of management through which workers share decision-making power over their working lives had their rationale in the participation hypothesis, which suggests that if employees are given this power, efficiency will increase and morale will improve. But the results expected by management have not always been forthcoming in practice. Previous research has suggested that discrepancies might occur between policy and practice, one reason for this being that people's attitudes may be in opposition to such programs. The Can-Rail Repair Company is a Canadian company committed to participation in principle yet not reaping the expected improvements in morale and productivity. The present study was intended to throw light on the problem by seeking to understand the attitudes of people of different rank towards the concept of participation.

Chapter 2 reviewed the literature of relevance to the present study. It was shown that studies concerned with participation varied as to how far power-sharing between management and workers was encompassed in definitions. Most studies involving a reduction in management decision-making power over workers' jobs were generally supportive of the hypothesis, although many conditions were necessary. These were contrasted with studies of pseudoparticipation in which decision-making power was not shared, with managers focusing instead upon fostering good human relations and making workers feel involved with goals and methods which had actually

been pre-set by management alone. Miles's suggestion that two conflicting participation models--Human Resources (corresponding to the definition adopted for this study) and Human Relations (corresponding to pseudo-participation)--may be employed in practice was noted, as were previous findings that resistance to power-sharing can be expected to occur at different levels.

Several studies showed a connection between people's attitudes and their organizational rank, and that organizational characteristics as a whole influence both attitudes and the outcomes of participation policies. Finally it was pointed out that previous studies used mainly quantitative methodologies aimed at causal explanations of the relationship between broad general variables which were not appropriate to studies seeking to understand attitudes such as the present one, for they do not permit a distinction to be made between what people say they think and feel as distinct from what they really do think and feel.

A qualitative methodology was therefore needed for this study, and this was outlined in Chapter 3. Instruments which would allow the relatively unrestricted exploration of ideas, feelings and discrepancies were chosen. These consisted of unstructured interviews and a set of simulated problem situations requiring each subject to chose and to justify one decision method out of four possibilities (only one of which was participative); they were validated by a pilot study with a panel of experts and by reflective summaries and probes. The sample of 36 people was drawn from four ranks at the CanRail Repair Company in Edmonton, and the interviews were completed in July, 1980.

Chapter 4 reported on the material collected, which showed that people's attitudes towards participation varied with the position they

occupied in the company hierarchy, and that there was a large gap between the perceptions and feelings of management and workers. The only thing held in common by all ranks was a feeling of frustration with the problems they connected to the idea of participation.

Although nearly everyone expressed initial agreement with participation as defined by the investigator, people of worker rank were the only ones to talk consistently as a group in these terms. None of them believed that participation in this sense was in effect at CanRail, and the majority felt they did not have sufficient freedom to exercise initiative and take responsibility for decision-making about their work. Most of the people of this rank felt powerless and unchallenged at work. This, together with low wages to reflect the value the company put on their work, appears to have led them to feel no reason to make much commitment to their jobs. As a group, they attributed low morale and efficiency mainly to lack of control over their work and a related wastage of their ideas.

In contrast, from comments and choices made by people in the management ranks, it became clear that only isolated elements of the Human Resources model of participation were endorsed by just a few management people. None of them envisaged extensive use of CanRail workers' potential for creative decision-making about work, although there were isolated references to the benefits of using workers' ideas. No-one in management connected this observation to the notion of reducing workers' powerlessness over their jobs. In fact, there seemed to be no recognition that participation involved sharing decision-making power at all, although during the simulations it was apparent that managers were at best ambivalent at the prospect and that supervisors were reluctant for

decision-making power to be shared at all. A set of assumptions corresponding very closely to Miles's Human Relations model appeared to predominate in the minds of management people when they spoke of participation, especially in respect of their assumption that workers at CanRail could not be trusted, they believed, with greater opportunities for the self-direction and responsibility which greater decision-making power would entail. These views of management were not consistent with their approval of the investigator's Human Resources definition of participation, which they had already endorsed.

B. Conclusion: Research Question 4

This question asked, "What explanations of existing attitudes and discrepancies can be suggested?"

1. Rank and attitude. As Lowin found (1968), attitudes towards participation of people working at CanRail appeared to vary almost directly with the rank that they occupied in the company hierarchy. Not only had their experiences varied according to their position, but so also did their perceptions and expectations of what participation should be, as well as their views of participation in practice at CanRail.

The commonality of attitudes within ranks that was shown by the data confirms the findings of other investigators (notably Lowin, 1965; and Pateman, 1970) that hierarchical position is a major influence on people's attitudes towards participation. This can be explained by the fact that the types of tasks, problems, decisions and concerns which are embodied in different level jobs determine the experiences and hence the attitudes of people at work. The fact that the workers were the only ones to talk consistently of participation in terms of sharing decision-making about production may be partly explained in this way; judging from their

frequent anecdotes about having attempted unsuccessfully to change predetermined procedures, the definition of participation offered by the investigator corresponded in a straight-forward manner to the desires and disappointments that the concept of participation entailed for workers.

In the same way, the scarcity of talk by management people at all levels about participation as a method of making decisions about production may be partly explained by their relative lack of familiarity with production tasks. An associated possibility is that CanRail management were not familiar with participation in the Human Resources sense. They did not appear to be able to envisage radically different ways of making production decisions in the way that workers could (since the latter were more familiar with production tasks and alternatives, and were continually contemplating changes on the job anyway). Because of the focus on good human relationships in the management training courses, even those people who had been systematically exposed to the company's idea of participation did not display familiarity with the kind of supervisor role demanded of a Human Resources definition of participation.

Beyond a vague notion that it was good to involve workers somehow, few management people appeared to have extensive knowledge about how to put full workers' participation in decision-making into practice. This seemed quite clearly to be the case where supervisors were concerned. There was a greater chance to glimpse them at their work than was possible for other management ranks; what was observed confirmed an impression that people did not realize that the investigator's definition of participation differed from their own. For example, one supervisor who had just finished describing himself as someone who believed in and practised

participation quite openly gave a worker such close instructions on how to arrange his time and tasks for the shift that there was clearly no room at all for work-related decision-making to be practised by the man.

A further explanation of management's reluctance to embrace the investigator's definition of participation may be drawn from Miles's study of managers, in which he pointed out that they only endorsed a Human Resources model of participation when they themselves were the ones standing to gain more self-control; they rejected this model when subordinates were the focus: "Managers at every level view themselves as capable of greater self-direction and self-control, but apparently don't attribute such abilities to their subordinates" (1965, p. 300). The quotations in Chapter 4 of management's lack of trust in workers certainly show this pattern.

As the review of the literature showed, previous investigators have found a reluctance to put participation policies into effect in such a way as to involve the power-sharing necessary to yield the desired results. Miles suggests that managers become emotionally attached to a concept of management which gives them an immutable set of prerogatives and enables them to hide any deficiencies by not sharing reasons for their decisions, and to maintain control by witholding information (1965). This resistance has often been seen as a psychological phenomenon, based in observations of insecurity or desires for aggrandisement (Martin & Sims, 1974; McClelland & Burnham, 1976). It was also pointed out that workers, too, may not always be accepting of participation policies, because of their unfamiliarity and an unwillingness to accept new responsibilities (Pateman, 1970). The findings of this study do not appear to fit these suggestions exactly. With one exception, none of the workers

demonstrated any unwillingness to participate in decision-making about their work; and they displayed more familiarity with how Human Resource style participation would affect their work than did any of the management people interviewed. The latter's comments that CanRail workers were intrinsically unmotivated, which prevents participation from working, cannot be regarded as evidence that workers were unwilling either. In terms of the participation hypothesis, the high turnover, chronic absenteeism and low enthusiasm for work among CanRail workers provide an almost classic illustration of its basic premise: Unless human beings are given scope for their creative abilities they will loose interest in their work; treated like people incapable of self-direction and initiative, they will behave accordingly. There can be little doubt after studying the workers' comments that, for reasons like these, they felt work at CanRail was not worth much of a commitment from them. But the resulting lack of enthusiasm was not interpreted by management from a Human Resources viewpoint; instead, the workers' behaviour was interpreted in Human Relations terms: that is, it was seen as evidence that they were intrinsically unmotivated, which in turn was used to justify giving them even more of the very same unchallenging organizational experiences which had given rise to the apathy in the first place. A self-perpetuating cycle of resentments and distrust was therefore established between CanRail's management and its workers.

With respect to management, there was no evidence among executives of an emotionally-based reluctance for workers to share decision-making power, but both managers and supervisors did demonstrate considerable discomfort with participation, especially on the simulations. To some extent, this might be interpreted as emotionally-based resistance to

giving up their own control over workers. The supervisors in particular were most reluctant in the simulations to relinquish decision-making power to workers; and the fact that they themselves felt powerless within the company would enhance the plausibility of this explanation.

Another possible explanation for the differences in feeling between management ranks may be that the more remote a person is from the power-sharing event being envisaged, the less can it be related to her or his own life. Thus it was relatively easy for executives to say that supervisors should choose participative methods, since this would not affect them personally at all. The managers, however, who are directly in touch with supervisors, were more aware of the practical implications and difficulties of such decision methods, and this led to their ambivalence. Supervisors had the strongest reactions because it was their own work roles being reflected; the choices offered had direct relevance to their own working lives. This suggests that people find it easier to pay lip-service to a principle, the more remote its implications for their own lives, and especially if the implications are negative.

2. Discrepancies. Several explanations may be offered for the discrepancies in management's attitudes that Chapter 4 described. First, as Miles points out (1965), participation is such a "motherhood-and-apple-pie" issue at present that its value may seem unquestionable to some. At the very least, since it is often contrasted with inconsiderate or authoritarian management styles (as it is at CanRail), people can be expected to resist being thought of by others as not favouring participation. Social pressure on CanRail's management to at least pay lip-service to the principle is probably considerable.

Secondly, CanRail's management appeared to be just as confused as were the United States managers described by Miles (1965) as to the

causal chains represented by participation. For the most part, there appeared to be little familiarity with the logic of Human Resources participation of the kind defined by Miles and endorsed by the workers, which suggests that the failure of management people to argue with the definition offered while still making contradictory statements might be due to a lack of recognition that a different set of relationships to the ones they envisaged was being discussed. There is also the possibility that some people were not expressing honest views when they agreed with the investigator's definition. If they did feel inclined to be somewhat less than candid, it would be understandable (especially for supervisors) since so many of them have heard the virtues of participation being explained at the same time as finding themselves unsuccessful in practising such policies. But even for supervisors it is felt that they, too, simply did not notice any contradiction between their Human Relations conception of participation and the definition offered.

Nevertheless, quite a few things were said which showed that management did not wholly endorse a Human Relations perception of participation either. Several references to the value of allowing workers to make decisions and work independently were made, together with a recognition that such utilization of workers' capabilities was beneficial to the company. But somehow the logic embedded in this insight had not been pursued. The company appeared to have overlooked the fact that the genesis of workers' frustrations lay in their relationships to the work itself and not predominantly in the quality of personal relationships with management. As a result, management at CanRail has concentrated on trying to use participation as a motivator and a solution to morale problems, even to the virtual exclusion of other motivators such as money. Just as in

some of the management literature referred to in Chapter 2 of this thesis, participation as a motivating tool seems at CanRail to have become detached from its reality base; management seems to expect the workers to respond to considerate treatment as though they were being given control over work decision-making. Workers are expected to act with a commitment and interest in their work which cannot realistically be expected to result from actual practices; they are certainly not seen by themselves or anyone else at CanRail as playing a responsible, self-determining role in the company.

Reflecting afterwards upon the strong contrast between, on the one hand, the high hopes that people at CanRail had once felt about participation and on the other the disappointments and frustrations with which their experiences of this concept had filled them, it was possible to identify at least one feeling that was common to all ranks--a sense of helplessness. Very few people seemed ready to jettison the whole idea, yet everyone was pessimistic about its promises.

It is suggested that this helplessness was rooted in people's tendency in this culture to seek the causes of events in individuals, rather than where they often truly lie, that is, in structures. As Blumberg pointed out long ago (1968), isolated individual efforts to make participation work are bound to fail unless the organization as a whole is appropriately modified. While the people interviewed tended to blame each other for the failure of participation to fulfil their hopes, there appeared to be scant recognition of the extent to which wider forces acted.

(a) Technology. To an observer, the most apparent of forces restricting them was technology. At CanRail, task organization is predetermined and structured by technological logic rather than being decided in such

a way as to maximize the human resources. The organization of production is fairly strictly predetermined on this basis; procedures are structured and formalized and leave little room for decision-making on the spot. For example, in the Car division a highly logical card is used (see Appendix V) in such a way that does not allow individuals to take responsibility for inspecting and repairing a unit themselves. Several people said they felt their hands to be tied by such strict control over the division of work; other restrictions such as the fat book of regulations sent out by Montreal were also taken as given. Similarly, pressure comes from the national level to reduce downtime; repair work is continued round the clock in order to keep equipment off the rails for as short a time as possible, and an adherence to three shifts without weekends results from this demand. If workers were to be able to influence the division of work and the disposition of their own time and skills, then changes would have to be at least theoretically possible in the present arrangements of the components of their operations: machines, human labour, tracks, units for repair and maintenance, plant time and work schedules, remuneration and incentive schemes, budgeting priorities, standards and regulations . . . an almost indefinite list. While these are the kind of important matters in which workers need to have decision-making involvement in order to genuinely participate, they are all presently made centrally, at the top of the hierarchy. It was as though nobody realized that any choice was being made in this respect at all, either in relation to the exclusive use of technological (as opposed to human) criteria as a basis for such decisions, or about who could conceivably do the deciding.

(b) Centralized control. A second major force which is apparently opposing the implementation of participation at CanRail--its almost unquestioned hierarchical authority structure. As is the case with local executives in most large conglomerate corporations, executives at CanRail do not control some of the major organizational factors on which the fate of any participation program must depend. Even the executives themselves did not appear to recognize that they were being held accountable for things over which neither they nor their subordinates had any control. While Miles suggests that management might be reluctant to relinquish its own prerogatives (1979), the picture presented by this study suggests an additional source of resistance to change: the organization structure itself. It appeared to be inconceivable to local personnel that power presently wielded remotely, at the top of the conglomerate hierarchy, even could be relocated, as indeed some of it would have to be if CanRail's human resources were to be fully used.

This failure to question the limits of local authority can perhaps be explained by the cultural assumption of normality which still attaches to hierarchical relationships in Canada's business environment. Since the raison d'etre of almost any work organization in a competitive, profit-based economic system is the maximization of benefits and control for relatively few people--the owners[1]-- it is not surprising that concrete ideas about alternative ways of organizing people and production have not been disseminated fully. Indeed, the prevalence of "toothless" definitions of participation in the management literature is testimony to the resistance which ideas about power-sharing can be expected to

---

1. The fact that CanRail is publicly owned does not exempt its members from the general effects of ideology and socialization which predominate in this culture.

meet; after all, job redesign away from specialization towards giving people autonomy is the very antithesis of that control which those at the summit seek in their quest for certainty of results.

Summary. Because they did not recognize these two forces precluding full workers' participation, people blamed each other. It is not surprising that a palatable but mythical "reason" was found: a deteriorating working class. The idea that society, rather than CanRail management, was producing unmotivated people must appeal strongly to those feeling constant pressure to do the impossible. It is easier to accept prevailing myths than to challenge the structures of one's society. Solutions such as firing the majority of workers may not be realistic; but they surely spring more easily to mind than alternatives with which one is not familiar and which constitute a complete upheaval in traditional task organization and authority structures.

The lines are now quite clearly drawn between management and workers; neither can understand or trust the other. It is easy to understand that, in experiential terms, participation has been a paradoxical and frustrating affair for most people at CanRail. No matter what level they work at, people in this company seem to be faced with impossible demands. To some degree management practise an interpersonal component of participation, yet no corresponding modifications have been made in the work organization or authority structures to permit full workers' participation in decision-making, and the concommittant improvements in efficiency and morale which are expected of them. Since there is minimal awareness that most of the components of a true participation program are missing from CanRail, the concept has become mystified and confused, and people blame each other for bad experiences. Such an inherently hopeless analysis

of the problem is clearly self-defeating. Against this background, the confusions and discrepancies found in people's attitudes towards participation appear more understandable.

C. Recommendations

1. The present study has given an idea of the kinds of discrepancies and frustrations which occur among the attitudes of people of different rank in one company. Nevertheless, the study merely skimmed the surface; if these discrepancies showed up in such a limited investigation as this, even more understanding might be expected to be generated if actual behaviour on the job could be observed. It is therefore recommended that a complete case study involving observation of decision-making be undertaken in any organization where the fate of particular participation programs is to be monitored and understood; it is felt that this study confirmed the value of qualitative rather than quantitative methods being used for such projects.

2. The following explanatory hypotheses are suggested:

(a) Resistance to workers' participation in organizational decision-making comes predominantly from the organization as an entity in itself, rather than being a purely psychological phenomenon found in management ranks.

(b) The roots of organizational resistance are two-fold: the exclusive use of technological logic as the basis of task-role divisions, and the unquestioned acceptance of remote control that

is characteristic of local organizations within large corporate conglomerates.

(c) Members of organizations in an individualistic, competitive, and profit-oriented environment are more likely to blame each other for their problems than to challenge established principles and structures.

(d) Canadian management is not familiar with the logic or practicalities of participation as portrayed in Miles's (1979) Human Resources model.

(e) Discrepancies in management's attitudes towards participation are due mainly to cognitive confusion and a reluctance to question the organizational status quo because of the revolutionary implications of doing do.

3. Recognition should be made of the limited nature of CanRail's present participation program, especially of the fact that trying to make workers feel as though they share meaningful decision-making power when they really do not will not succeed in solving problems of morale and inefficiency, but instead will continue to place unrealistic demands on people at all levels and to increase workers' distrust of management and lack of commitment to company goals.

4. People at the upper level of the organization should familiarize themselves with the Human Resources model of participation and with related industrial experiments. This would create an understanding of alternatives and make it easier to abandon the self-defeating assumption that the root of CanRail's problems is an insurmountable anti-work ethic in Canada generally, against which management feels powerless to act. Once recognition has been made of the extent to which a full participation

program necessitates changes in the overall task-role organization and lines of authority, a clear decision should be made as to whether to commit the organization to full utilization of its human resources, or instead to maintain the present technologically-predetermined organization of work.

5. Consideration should be given to the idea that it may not be necessary to eradicate workers' powerlessness or dissatisfactions in order to increase their efficiency. It is possible that many workers might be willing to work hard and forgo many personal satisfactions in work within a frankly hierarchical system, provided they were offered enough money and the choices that management were willing to offer were honestly made. Furthermore, it should be remembered that a hierarchical system of decision-making does not preclude benevolent and considerate supervision.

6. The present complete reliance for workers' motivation upon participation in the sense of fostering democratic and considerate treatment of workers should be recognized as ineffectual, resting as it does upon false assumptions--especially about the roots of low morale. The relative merits of alternatives, such as the workers' suggested large pay raises, should be explored.

7. While the existing physical organization of work at CanRail places limits upon how workers, tools and trains are blended into the work process, so that any sudden or completed reorganization might not be practical, there still appears to be considerable scope for changes from the bottom up. As was the case with the machine operators' reorganization studied by Bavelas as long ago as 1948, changes initiated at the work site are often practical, relatively quick to implement, and

yield immediate results in terms of efficiency as well as satisfaction to the innovator.

8. Finally, CanRail's problems reulting from low morale need not be top management's alone to deal with. This study provides evidence that people at all levels in the company care a great deal about their jobs and feel at least as frustrated as senior management. During the interviews, several people suggested that the general findings of this study be shared with any person working at CanRail who was interested, and that an honest and common trouble-shooting sharing of the problems be undertaken by management at all levels, the union, and individual workers. It is suggested that a joint approach such as this to working out alternative solutions would provide a chance for the company to benefit more than it has hitherto from its under-utilized human resources.

References

Argyris, C. Interpersonal competence and organizational effectiveness. Homewood, Ill.: Richard Irwin, 1962.

Babchuk, W., & Goode, W. J. Work incentives in a self-determined group. American Sociological Review, 1951, 16, 679-687.

Barber, J. W. Industrial relations and training. Industrial Training International, 1973, 8 (10), 300-312, 323-324, 327.

Bass, B. M., & Shackleton, V. J. Industrial democracy and participative management: A case for a synthesis. Academy of Management Review, 1979, 4 (3), 393-404.

Batt, W. L., & Weinberg, E. Labor-management cooperation today. Harvard Business Review, 1978, 56, 57-66.

Bavelas, A. Some problems of organizational change. Journal of Social Issues, 1948, 4, 48-52.

Bennis, W. G. Changing organizations: Essays on the development and evolution of human organizations. Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1966.

Bennis, W. G., Berkowitz, N., Affinito, M., & Malone, M. Authority, power, and the ability to influence. Human Relations, 1958, 11, 143-155.

Bierstedt, R. An analysis of social power. American Sociological Review, 1950, 15, 730-738.

Blake, R., & Mouton, J. The managerial grid. Houston: Gulf, 1968.

Blauner, R. Alienation and freedom: The factory worker and his industry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Blumberg, P. Industrial democracy: The sociology of participation. London: Constable, 1968.

Brinkerhoff, M. Hierarchical status, contingencies and administrative staff conferences. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1972, 17 (8), 395-407.

Cartwright, D. Power: A neglected variable. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), Studies in social power. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959, 1-14.

Coch, L., and French, J. Overcoming resistance to change. Human Relations, 1948, 1, 512-532.

Cronbach, L. J. Beyond the two disciplines of scientific psychology. American Psychology, 1975, 30 (2), 116-127.

Dawes, R. M. Fundamentals of Attitude Measurement. New York: Wiley, 1972.

Finch, F., Jones, H., & Litterer, J. Managing for organizational effectiveness. New York: McGraw Hill, 1976.

Fleishman, E. A. Leadership climate, human relations training, and supervisory behavior. Personnel Psychology, 1953, 6, 205-222.

Fleishman, E. A. Twenty years of consideration and structure. In E. A. Fleishman & J. Hunt (Eds.), Current developments in the study of leadership. London: Feffer & Simons, 1973, 1-37.

French, J., Ross, I., Kirby, S., Nelson, J., & Smythe, P. Employee participation in a program of industrial change. Personnel, 1958, 35, 16-29.

Giorgi, A. Psychology as a human science: A phenomenologically based approach. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Heller, F., & Yukl, G. Participation, managerial decision-making and situational variables. In E. Williams (Ed.), Participation and management: Concepts, theory and implementation. Atlanta: Georgia State University Press, 1976, 241-255.

Hill, J. W., & Hunt, J. G. Managerial level, leadership and employee need-satisfaction. E. Fleishman & J. Hunt (Eds.), Current Developments in the study of leadership. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973, 86-103.

Hodgkinson, C. Changing the perspective: A first note towards a field theory of administration. Journal of Educational Administration, 1971, 9 (2), 200-206.

Hoffman, L. R. Review of 'Leadership and decision-making.' Journal of Business, 1974, 47, 593-398.

Holter, H. Attitudes toward employee participation in company decision-making processes. Human Relations, 1965, 18 (4), 297-319.

Jago, A. G. Hierarchical level determinants of participative leader behavior. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1977. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1977, 38, 2921B.

Jago, A. G. Configural cue utilization in implicit models of leader behavior. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1978, 22, 474-496.

Jago, A. G. A test of spuriousness in descriptive models of participative leader behavior. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1978, 63 (3), 383-387.

Kahn, R. L., & Katz, D. Leadership practice in relation to productivity and morale. D. Cartwright & A. Zander (Eds.), Group dynamics. Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1953, 553-570.

Katz, D. Survey research centre: An overview of the human relations program. H. Guetzkow (Ed.) Groups, leadership and men: Research in human relations. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963, 68-85.

Katz, D., Maccoby, N., & Morse, N. Productivity, supervision and morale in an office situation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950.

Lowin, A. Participative decision-making: a model, literature, critique, and prescriptions for research. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1968, 3, 68-106.

March, J. G., & Simon, H. A. Organizations. New York: Wiley, 1958.

Martin, N. & Sims, J. Power tactics. H. Leavitt & L. Pondey (Eds.), Readings in managerial psychology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974, 272-280.

McClelland, D. C., & Burnham, D. H. Power is the great motivator. Harvard Business Review, 1976, 54, 100-110.

McDonnell, J. Participative management: Can its acceptance be predicted? Human Resource Management, 1976, 15 (2), 204.

McGregor, D. The human side of enterprise. H. Leavitt & L. Pondey (Eds.) Readings in managerial psychology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974, 747-759.

Miles, R. E. Human relations or human resources? Harvard Business Review, 1965, 43, 291-302.

Mills, T. Europe's industrial democracy: An American response. Harvard Business Review, 1978, 56, 143-152.

Mulder, M., & Wilke, H. Participation and power equalization. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1970, 5, 430-448.

Nias, J. Information and the management of innovation. Journal of Educational Administration, 1973, 11 (1), 79087.

Orenstein, A. & Phillips, W. Understanding social research: An introduction. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1978.

Park, C. W. A seven-point scale and a decision-maker's simplifying choice strategy: An operationalized satisficing-plus model. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1978, 21, 252-271.

Pateman, C. Participation and democratic theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Pelz, D. Influence: A key to effective leadership in the first line supervisor. Personnel, 1952, 3, 3-11.

Rousseau, D. M. Measures of technology as predictors of employee attitude. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1978, 63 (2), 213-218.

Scott, E. L. Perceptions of organization and leadership behavior. Columbus: Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1952.

Shultz, G. Worker participation in production problems. F. Lesieur (Ed.), The Scanlon Plan, Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1964, 50-64.

Stone, E. F. The moderating effects of work related values on the job-scope--job satisfaction relationship. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1976, 15, 147-167.

Strauss, G. Some notes on power equalization. H. Leavitt (Ed.), The social science of organizations. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963, 39-84.

Tannenbaum, R., & Massarik, F. Participation by subordinates in the managerial decision-making process. R. Sutermeister (Ed.), People and productivity. New York: McGraw Hill, 1963, 459-467.

Tannenbaum, R., & Schmidt, T. How to choose a leadership pattern. Harvard Business Review, 1958, 36 (2), 95-101.

Thorsrud, E., & Emery, F. E. Democracy at work: A report of the Norwegian industrial democracy program. Leiden: Nijhoff, 1976.

Tosi, H. L., & Carroll, S. J. Management: Contingencies, structure & process. Chicago: St. Clair Press, 1976.

Vroom, V. Some personality determinants of the effects of participation. E. Williams (Ed.), Participative management: Concepts, theory and implementation. Atlanta: Georgia State University Press, 1976, 93-103.

Vroom, V., & Jago, A. G. On the validity of the Vroom/Yetton model. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1978, 63, 151-162.

Vroom, V., & Yetton, P. Leadership and decision-making. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.

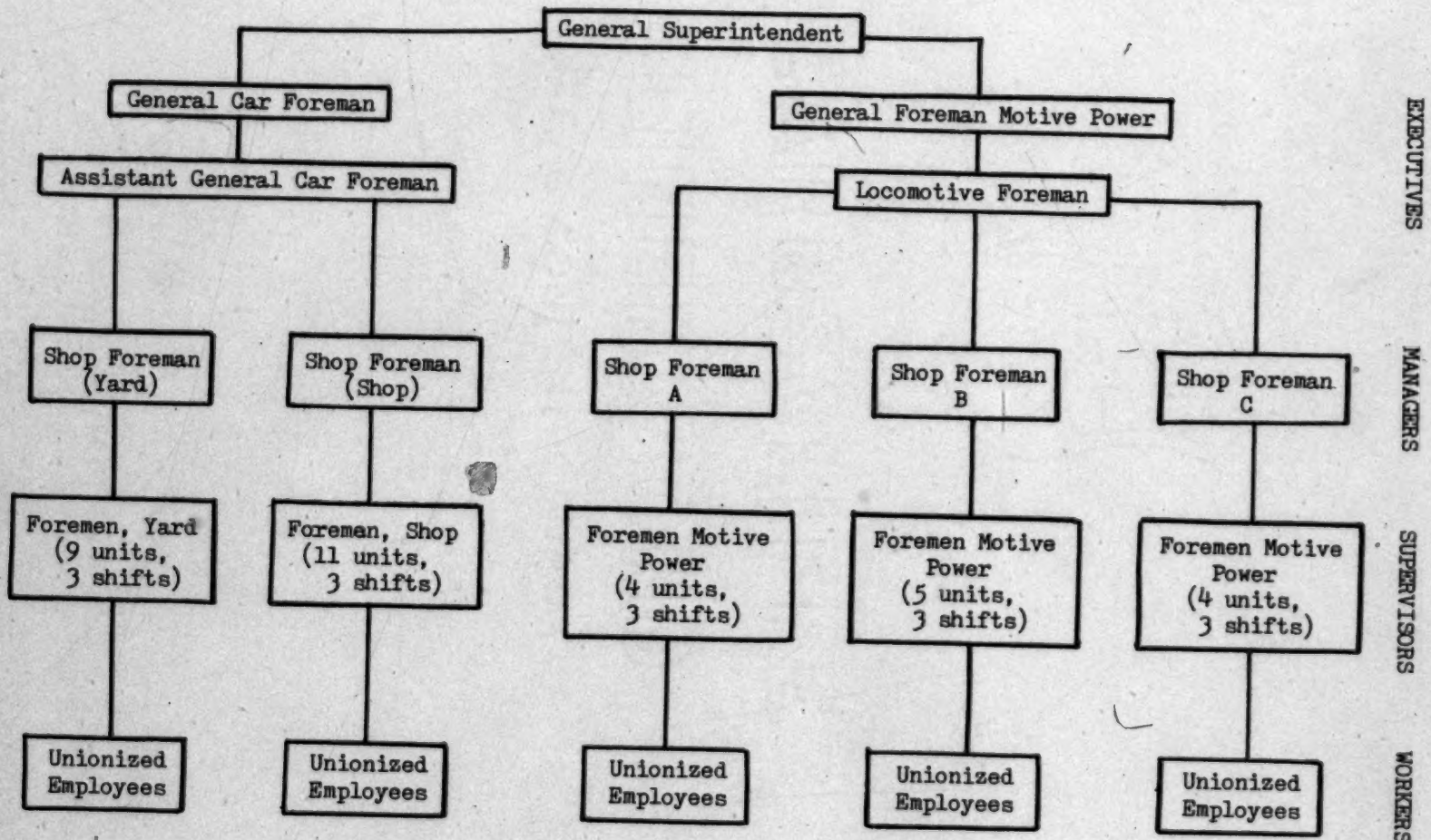
Vroom, V., & Yetton, P. A normative model of leadership style. H. Leavitt & L. Pondey (Eds.), Readings in managerial psychology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974, 413-433.

Weber, M. The theory of social and economic organization. New York: Free Press, 1968.

Wickert, F. R. Turnover and employees' feelings of ego involvement in the day-to-day operations of a company. Personnel Psychology, 1951, 4, 185-197.

Yukl, G. Toward a behavioral theory of leadership. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1971, 6 (4), 414-440.

Appendix I. CanRail Organization Chart



Appendix II

Assumptions, Practices and Rationale for Miles's Framework[1]

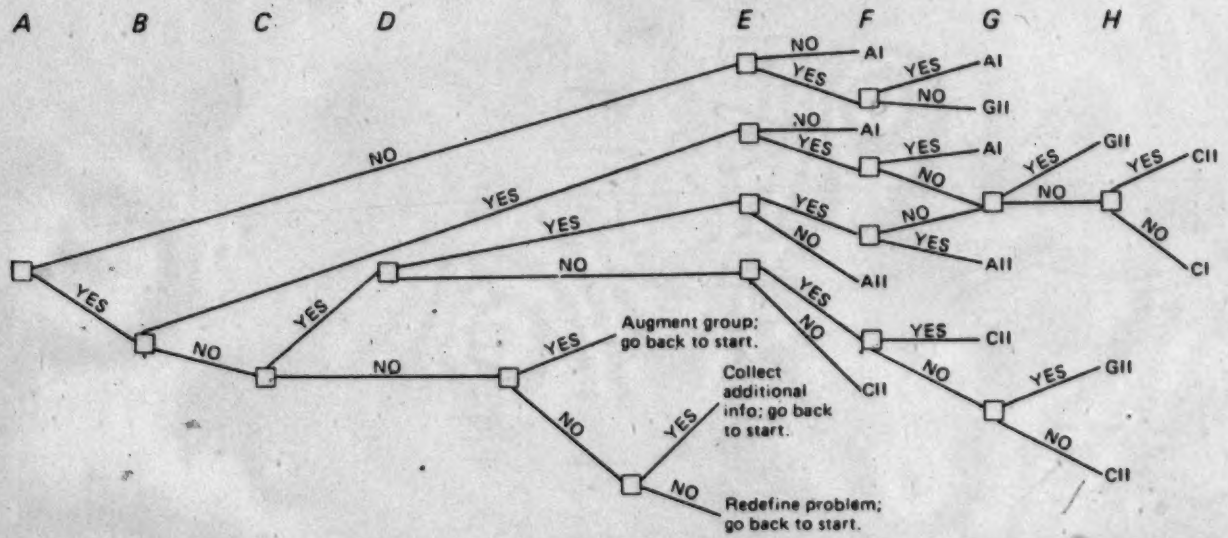
Two Models of Participative Leadership

Human Relations	*Human Resources*
ATTITUDES TOWARD PEOPLE	
1. People in our culture share a common set of needs—to belong, to be liked, to be respected.	1. In addition to sharing common needs for belonging and respect, most people in our culture desire to contribute effectively and creatively to the accomplishment of worthwhile objectives.
2. They desire individual recognition but, more than this, they want to feel a useful part of the company and their own work group or department.	2. The majority of our work force is capable of exercising far more initiative, responsibility and creativity than their present jobs require or allow.
3. They will tend to cooperate willingly and comply with organizational goals if these important needs are fulfilled.	3. These capabilities represent untapped resources which are presently being wasted.
KIND AND AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION	
1. The manager's basic task is to make each worker believe that he is a useful and important part of the department "team."	1. The manager's basic task is to create an environment in which his subordinates can contribute their full range of talents to the accomplishment of organizational goals. He must attempt to uncover and tap the creative resources of his subordinates.
2. The manager should be willing to explain his decisions and to discuss his subordinates' objections to his plans. On routine matters, he should encourage his subordinates to participate in planning and choosing among alternative solutions to problems.	2. The manager should allow, and encourage, his subordinates to participate not only in routine decisions but in important matters as well. In fact, the more important a decision is to the manager's department, the greater should be his effort to tap the department's resources.
3. Within narrow limits, the work group or individual subordinates should be allowed to exercise self-direction and self-control in carrying out plans.	3. The manager should attempt to continually expand the areas over which his subordinates exercise self-direction and self-control as they develop and demonstrate greater insight and ability.
EXPECTATIONS	
1. Sharing information with subordinates and involving them in departmental decision making will help satisfy their basic needs for belonging and for individual recognition.	1. The overall quality of decision making and performance will improve as the manager makes use of the full range of experience, insight, and creative ability in his department.
2. Satisfying these needs will improve subordinate morale and reduce resistance to formal authority.	2. Subordinates will exercise responsible self-direction and self-control in the accomplishment of worthwhile objectives that they understand and have helped establish.
3. High employee morale and reduced resistance to formal authority may lead to improved departmental performance. It should at least reduce intradepartment friction and thus make the manager's job easier.	3. Subordinate satisfaction will increase as a byproduct of improved performance and the opportunity to contribute creatively to this improvement.

1. Miles, 1965, p. 293.

Appendix III. Vroom & Yetton's Problem Attributes and Decision Flowchart

(Source: Finch, Jones & Litterer, 1976, pp. 157-8.)



A. Quality. The importance of the quality of the decision. If decision were accepted, would it make a difference which course of action were adopted?

B. Leader information. The extent to which the leader possesses enough information/expertise to make a high quality decision alone.

C. Subordinate information. The extent to which subordinates have enough information/expertise to result in a high quality decision.

D. Structure. The extent to which the problem is structured, i.e. the parameters known.

E. Acceptance critical. The extent to which acceptance on the part of subordinates is critical to the effective implementation of the decision.

F. Acceptance likely. The prior probability that the leader's autocratic decision will receive acceptance by subordinates.

G. Goal congruence. The extent to which subordinates are motivated to attain the organizational goals and base the decision on them.

H. Conflict. The extent to which subordinates are likely to be in conflict over preferred solutions.

Appendix IV

Vroom & Yetton's Decision Methods

Group Problems	Individual Problems
AI. You solve the problem or make the decision yourself, using information available to you at the time.	AI. You solve the problem or make the decision by yourself, using information available to you at the time.
AII. You obtain the necessary information from your subordinates, then decide the solution to the problem yourself. You may or may not tell your subordinates what the problem is in getting the information from them. The role played by your subordinates in making the decision is clearly one of providing the necessary information to you, rather than generating or evaluating alternative solutions.	AII. You obtain the necessary information from your subordinate, then decide on the solution to the problem yourself. You may or may not tell the subordinate what the problem is in getting the information from him. His role in making the decision is clearly one of providing the necessary information to you, rather than generating or evaluating alternative solutions.
CI. You share the problem with the relevant subordinates individually, getting their ideas and suggestions without bringing them together as a group. Then you make the decision, which may or may not reflect your subordinates' influence.	CI. You share the problem with your subordinate, getting his ideas and suggestions. Then you make a decision, which may or may not reflect his influence.
CII. You share the problem with your subordinates as a group, obtaining their collective ideas and suggestions. Then you make the decision, which may or may not reflect your subordinates' influence.	GI. You share the problem with your subordinate, and together you analyze the problem and arrive at a mutually agreeable solution.
GII. You share the problem with your subordinates as a group. Together you generate and evaluate alternatives and attempt to reach agreement (consensus) on a solution. Your role is much like that of chairman. You do not try to influence the group to adopt "your" solution, and you are willing to accept and implement any solution which has the support of the entire group.	DI. You delegate the problem to your subordinate, providing him with any relevant information that you possess, but giving him responsibility for solving the problem by himself. You may or may not request him to tell you what solution he has reached.

(Source: Finch, Litterer, & Jones, 1976, p.159)

Appendix V

Portion of a Card used to control work at CanRail

FREIGHT CAR INSPECTION & REPAIR REPORT

CN 431-A (1-74)
48-03-019

HEADER DATA

Station Symbol | Day | Month

Car Initials (Foreign Only) | Car Number

Gang Number | B.O. Code | XX NO B.O. Card | L or E

Foreign Type | Grade In | Grade Out | V - Conv'n D - Mast'r Repair | T - Pre Trip L - Light H - Heavy W - Wreck U - Ungrade R - Road Rev | S - Shop Remarks | W - Waiting Disposition A - Account Material P - Return For Repair M - Mechanical Diagnosis C - Commodity Contam D - Decontaminated

DATA ON WHEELS REMOVED

Type & Codes: Wrot Steel - 1; Mult. Wear - 2; Cast Steel - 3; Cast Iron - 4

Journal Size | Wheel Diameter | Left Side | Right Side

AAR DEFECT CODE

BEARING DATA

1 - Plain - 1; 2 - Flat Back - 2; 3 - Hi Hat - 3; 4 - SKF - 4; 5 - Timken - 5; 6 - Hyatt - 6; 7 - Brenco - 7; 8 - Other - 8

Removed | Applied

JOURNAL STOPS: Yes 3 | No 4

R I P - 1 | Renew - 3
F & R - 2 | F & R - Repair - 4

Sides: 1 Welded - 5 | 2 Riveted - 6 | As Noted - 7

Cars Recommended for Shop Repairs: Age - 8 | Damage - 9

	Code	Qty
Apron Plates	01	
Bolster / Crossbearer / Crosstie — DIAPHRAGMS	02	
Cover Plates	03	
Bulk Head	04	
Centre Plate Body & Truck (ea)	05	
DOORS	06	
" Close Hopper Type	011	7
" Post - Wood	07	
" " - Filler	08	
" Threshold Plate	09	
" Track or Operating Shaft	10	
END - 1 / SIDE - 7 (Straighten)	85	
" Gate	12	
Cussets or Braces	13	
POSTS - STEEL	14	
Side Bearings Body & Truck (ea)	15	
" " Adjust Tight (per end)	027	
SILL - END	16	
" - SIDE	17	
" - CENTRE Front-Bolster	18	
" " Through Bolster	19	
" " Between Bolster	20	
Stake Pockets	21	
STEEL SHEATHING	22	
Stringers - Floor	23	
Coupler - Body	24	
" Head Components (per end)	25	
" Height - Adjust	037	
" Operating Lever	26	
" & Gear - Carrier Irons	27	
Draft Gear	28	
" " Lugs - Front	29	
" " " - Rear	46	
Striker	47	
Yoke	48	

	Code	Qty
Handholds	49	
Hand Brake (Wheel Renew - 7)	86	
" " Step	51	
LADDERS	52	
S.H. Steps	53	
Pratform	50	
C.O.T. & S. Air Hoses	057	
In Date Test	067	
Train Line Test	077	
" " Air Hose	54	
" " Angle Cock	55	
" " Connections (ea)	56	
Renew Comb. Dirt Collector	087	
" Duplex Release Valve	097	
" Piston	107	
" Release Rod	117	
" Retainer	127	
" Service Emerg. Portion (ea)	137	
Brake Beam (Head Renew - 7)	57	
" " Hanger - Renew	147	
" " Safety Support	58	
" " Wear Plates - Renew	157	
Truck Bolster	59	
" Side	60	
" Springs incl. Snubber (per truck)	61	
" " National "B" Renew (per truck)	167	
" Spring Plank	62	
Stabilizer - Wedge - Bolts (per truck)	177	
Journal Box	63	
" " Cover Renew	187	
" Brass or Wedge, Renew (per box)	197	
" Lubricator " "	207	
" Stops " "	217	
Repack - Plain Bearings	227	
" Cartridge or Roller Bearings	237	

	Code	Qty
Anchor Bands	4	
Hand Rail Connections (ea)	1	
Saddle Blocks	5	
A.C.F. Hitch (7 per lubrication)	27	
Auto Loading Device "	7	
Panel - Ceiling	1	
" - Wall	4	
Placard & Route Boards	3	
ROOF SHEETS	234	
Running Board - R.I.P. (per section)		
" " - Steel Section	734	
Sand Floor (per car)		
" Walls (per car)		
Sash or Screens	1234	
Stencils - Car No. or CN (per car)		
Heater (Underslung 3 Mount Insp 7)	1234	
" Propane or Methanol Annual Check		
Stove Pipes - Renew		
Anti Freeze Added gallons used		
Circulating Fans	234	
" Pipe Connections (ea)	23	
Drain O.H. Tanks (per tank)		
Drip Traps	23	
Hatch Cover or Plugs (ea)		
Liquid Level Gage	34	
Liquidometer		
" Adjust		
Rack - Floor - Wood	2	
" " - Steel		
Weatherstrip Refer Door (Yards)		
Remove Blocking (per block)	7	
Ultrasonic Test of Axles: Sound / Unsound		
Dismantle TRUCK		
Jack Car Body (per end)		